DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 148 979 UD 017 826

AUTHOR Ogbu, John U.
TITLE Racial Stratification and Education: The Case of Stockton, California.
INSTITUTION Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y. Inst. for Urban and Minority Education.
PUB DATE 77
NOTE 29p.; IRCD Bulletin, Vol. 12, No. 3
AVAILABLE FROM Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10027 (1-9 copies $1.00 each; quantity discounts)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$2.06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Academic Aspiration; *Academic Failure; Adjustment (to Environment); Black Education; Black Role; *Black Students; Case Studies; Educational Practice; *Failure Factors; Occupational Aspiration; Race Relations; *Racial Factors; *Social Stratification; Social Structure
IDENTIFIERS *California (Stockton)

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the educational consequences of racial stratification or the system of racial castes in the United States. The central thesis of the paper is that the subordinate status occupied by blacks because of racial stratification requires and promotes lower school performance or school failure and that therefore this school failure represents a kind of adaptation. In order to understand how this adaptation emerges, two kinds of linkages in the educational processes are studied. The first is that between, on one hand, the job and role ceiling, and on the other, the policies and practices of the school system, race affects the subordinate group members beliefs about their opportunities in society, how they perceive their schooling in relation to their belief system, and how their perceptions and beliefs are related to their efforts in school. The second linkage is that between the job and role ceiling and the problems of language, cognition, motivation, and peer group pressures. This essay deals with the first linkage and how it works and contributes to black school failure in Stockton, California, a community which was studied between 1968 and 1970. The limitations experienced by black children in this community affected their preparation for future jobs and roles. School policies and practices did little to encourage black children to do well or to stay in school to prepare themselves for higher status social and economic roles. Blacks in this community used other strategies to achieve greater social and economic participation (playing Uncle Toms). Programs introduced to encourage better school performance among blacks proved ineffective. It seems that they were designed and implemented without any serious consideration for the social and structural forces affecting black education as discussed in this paper. (Author/AM)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

ED148979

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Inst. for Urban & Minority Education
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

IRCD Bulleti

A Publication of the Institute for Urban and Minority Education
Teachers College, Columbia University

Volume XII, Number 3 Summer 1977

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

Racial Stratification and Education
The Case of Stockton, California

John U. Ogbu

In response to one aspect of the United States social policy of the 1960's, which was to eliminate poverty by giving the poor more education, social scientists have carried out extensive studies of minority education, especially in the area of minority school failure. But we are no nearer today than we were more than a decade ago to understanding the nature of the school failure, its causes, and the practical measures to eliminate it. A part of the problem seems to be that we have been studying minority education and school failure out of context. Every study of education or schooling in a given society ought also to be a part of the study of that society — how that society is structured or organized for social action and how it works. This is because education is one of the principal means by which society, especially a modern industrialized society like the United States, trains its members for and allocates them to typical roles in adult life. Similarly, every study of minority education should be a part of the study of the structural position of that minority and how its position influences and is influenced by its education. Social scientists studying minority education in the United States over the last two decades have not usually taken this approach. More typically, they have approached their subject in terms of an ideal model of education and an ideal model of *how American society ought to be and what ought to be the position of minority groups in it*. But if we are going to understand the nature and basis of minority school failure and formulate a policy that will effectively eliminate it, *we must begin with the study of the society as it is*, the place of the minority groups in it, and the relation of both to minority education.

As a social anthropologist I am interested in the relationship between social structure and education. More specifically, I am interested in probing into the *educational consequences* of various forms of social stratification in modern societies. In the present paper I am concerned with the educational consequences of racial stratification or the system of racial castes in the United States.[1] How does the position of blacks in the American system of racial castes influence black education? How does the way in which American society uses and rewards black academic skills affect various aspects of black education? It is my thesis that black school performance (and school failure) is a kind of adaptation to the low educational and skills requirements of blacks' more or less ascribed social and economic roles in adult life. This paper is an attempt to analyze black education in one American community, Stockton, California, from this perspective. I am fully aware that in the last two decades, in response to pressures from civil rights organizations, some legislative and legal measures have been taken to raise the job and role ceiling that existed for blacks and other similar minorities. But as we shall see later, these efforts are far from being an accomplished fact in Stockton and probably elsewhere in the United States (also see Adams, 1972; Ashenfelter and Rees, 1973; Buckey, 1971; Gould, 1977; Ogbu, in press).

The paper is divided into seven parts. The first part attempts to clarify the concepts and assumptions that underlie the presentation of the case study. The second part gives a historical overview of blacks in Stockton as well as describing their present position in the local system of racial stratification. The third part examines the nature of formal education in Stockton in the context of the local social structure. Specifically, it focuses on the role of education as a bridge to the attainment of adult status and to social mobility among the general population, especially among the dominant white group.[2] The fourth part describes the contrasting experiences of local blacks. The fifth part deals with the nature of black

I wish to thank Stockton Unified School District, which partially sponsored the fieldwork on which this paper is based. The main fieldwork was carried out in Stockton, California, between September 1968 and June 1970. I also wish to thank the University of California, Berkeley, which has made possible through its faculty research fund my continuing periodic visits to the field. The analysis of the field data was made possible by the same faculty research fund, by a grant from NIMH (Research Grant 1 RO3 MH25130-01), and by some support from the Carnegie Council on Children during the time I served on its staff at Yale University between September 1973 and August 1975. I am grateful to Dorothy Clement and Diane K. Lewis for their comments on the earlier draft. And I wish to thank specially Laura Eby and Grace Buzaljko for editorial help, and Tony Cord for typing the manuscript.

UD 017826

education, including the problem of school failure. In this section I analyze the kind of education provided for blacks and its relation to preparation for their typical adult roles in the economic system; how blacks perceive the structural barriers against them and how this perception, in turn, affects their perception of schooling; the nature of black school performance; and steps taken by local school authorities to reduce school failure. The sixth part suggests a possible linkage between social structural barriers, especially barriers to high-status social and economic roles, on the one hand and the problems of language, cognition, motivation, and peer pressures and encapsulation on the other. The final section of the paper summarizes the structural basis of black school failure in Stockton and suggests the application of this approach to the study of the school failures of minorities in the United States and elsewhere.

Racial Stratification and School Performance

Among the many perspectives from which black school failure has been examined are cultural deprivation (Bloom, Davis, and Hess, 1965; Deutsch, 1967; Hunt, 1969); cultural conflict (Baratz and Baratz, 1970; Inkeles, 1968); institutional deficiency and the lack of equal educational opportunity (Clark, 1972; U.S. Senate Select Committee, 1972; Stein, 1971); and psychobiological deficiency (Garrett, 1971; Jensen, 1969). I have reviewed these explanations elsewhere (Ogbu, 1974, in press). What needs to be pointed out here is that none of them seriously considers the one most important social structural variable in black education, namely, the fact that American society is racially stratified. It is significant that the concept of racial stratification is not included in the index of any of the major recent works on the problem of school performance (see Coleman, 1966; Jencks, 1972; Jensen, 1969; Mosteller and Moynihan, 1972). These works usually discuss the importance of social class, although not class stratification. My intention in this essay is to show how *racial stratification* generates and sustains black school failure in Stockton.

I use the concept "race" in its cultural rather than biological meaning. In the latter sense it refers to subspecies defined by gene frequencies (see Loehlin, Lindzey, & Spuhler, 1975, p.13). In its cultural sense it denotes essentially what Americans mean by the term when they say that blacks and whites belong to "different races" because the two social categories have some innate and physical differences. This is a folk or social rather than biological classification as is indicated by the fact that Americans classify anyone known to be an offspring of black and white mating as black, regardless of his innate make-up or physical appearance. And it is this folk classification or cultural definition of the two groups as separate races that underlies many aspects of the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors of black and white Americans.

What is even more important for my purpose is that blacks and whites are *racially stratified* and not simply that they belong to different racial groups. Membership in different racial groups does not necessarily lead to divergent school performance as can be seen by comparing white (Caucasian) Americans with the non-Caucasian Asian Americans (see Coleman, 1966). Nor does membership in the same racial category necessarily result in similar school performance as can be seen by comparing the Oriental Jews and the Ashkenazim in Israel (Ackerman, 1973; Bentwich, 1965; Rosenfeld, 1973) or by comparing the Burakumin and the non-Burakumin in Japan (DeVos & Wagatsuma, 1967; Shimahara, 1971). *It is when racial categories are stratified that persistent differences in school performance emerge. Specifically, it is when two or more racial groups are organized hierarchically, so that members of the group that occupies the lower, subordinate position are restricted to low-status social, economic, political, and other roles, that racial differences result in persistent differences in school performance.*

It may be asked, which comes first: racial stratification (i.e. unequal access to the more desirable roles in society requiring more years of schooling and high academic achievement) or differences in school performance and educational qualification (i.e. differences in the acquisition of socially defined skills or credentials for the more desirable roles in society)? This question can be answered, at least in part, through a historical study of a particular case as well as through a comparative study of several cases. In the present study I shall adopt the historical approach to examine the problem in one American community. A previous survey of the history of black education in the United States strongly suggested that the subordinate position of blacks in a rigid system of racial stratification predated their school performance problems (Ogbu, in press; see also Bond, 1966, 1969; Bullock, 1970). Blacks were brought to America *as slaves* and were from the very beginning prevented from competing with whites for the more desirable adult roles in society requiring formal education; and for many generations they were not permitted access to formal education to prepare themselves for such roles. After they were emancipated from slavery the racial stratification system was maintained by the dominant whites through legal and extralegal mechanisms (van den Berghe, 1967). In recent decades this stratification system has tended to become less rigid because of the combined effects of presidential executive orders, court decisions, and some legislative actions *in response to pressures* from civil rights organizations regarding black access to the more desirable social, economic, political, and other roles and black

IRCD Bulletin

Published quarterly by the Institute for Urban and Minority Education. Subscription rate: $4.00 per year. Back issues: 1-9 copies, $1.00 each; 10-24 copies, $0.80 each; 25-49 copies, $0.60 each; 50 copies and over, $0.50 each.

Edmund W. Gordon, Editor

Send all communications to: Institute for Urban and Minority Education, Box 40, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York 10027.

The Institute for Urban and Minority Education is an agency for human resource development and school organization improvement in the nation's cities. Founded in 1973, the Institute is part of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, New York.

access to education. However, blacks still do not compete for these roles with whites on a free and equal basis because of the racial stratification (see Gould, 1977; Ogbu, in press; Weinberg, 1977).

Although my Stockton study concerned mostly lower-class blacks, class stratification does not account for most of the observed differences in school performance between whites and blacks. The importance of social class as an explanatory variable comes to the fore when one is comparing lower-class black school performance with middle-class black school performance or with middle-class white school performance. But when one is comparing blacks and whites of similar social class background, such as lower-class blacks and lower-class whites, social class loses its explanatory power. Because social scientists tend to explain black school failure in terms of black lower-class status, it is necessary to show both that class stratification and racial stratification have independent effects on school performance, and, that in a society like the United States, stratified by class and race, the effects of the two stratification systems must be taken into account when the problem of school failure is examined.

Berreman (1972, pp. 398-99) has succinctly summarized the differences between class stratification and racial (or caste) stratification. Briefly, he says that a person's social class is an acquired status; he is ranked on the basis of his behavior and such acquired personal attributes as education, occupation, income, and the like. Class stratification both legitimizes social mobility, i.e. efforts toward self-improvement through individual movement from one rank-group to another, and prescribes the means by which the individual may achieve such mobility. In contrast, a person's membership in a racially stratified group or in a caste group is an ascribed status, and the person is expected to behave, not according to his acquired personal attributes such as education, occupation, income, and the like, but according to the rank of his group of origin. Unlike class stratification, racial stratification forbids individuals from seeking to achieve self-improvement through movement from one rank or status group to another.

How the influence of class stratification on school performance differs from that of racial stratification can be seen by comparing the functions of the two systems in the distribution of social, economic, and political roles among members of the society and in individual social mobility, since in modern industrialized societies role-allocation and social mobility are believed to depend largely on formal education. The difference between class stratification and racial stratification in role-allocation may be described in terms of *status summation*. According to Berreman (1972), status summation refers to the extent to which social, economic, political, and other roles are distributed among members of a stratified society according to the rank-order of their groups of origin rather than on the basis of their acquired personal attributes. In both class system and racial system, social, economic, political, and other roles tend to vary from one status group to another. In the class system, however, individuals from the lower class are not restricted largely to the roles that are typical of their group of origin. In the class system of modern industrialized societies like the United States, there is a wide range of roles theoretically open to individuals regardless of their class origin. Their social, economic, political, and other roles—in short, their adult status—depend, at least in part, on acquired personal attributes like formal education. In other words, in this type of class stratification the status summation is low.

In contrast, the adult status of members of a subordinate racial group in a racial stratification system is determined chiefly by their group of origin, and acquired personal attributes like formal education are secondary. The social, economic, political, and other roles of individuals are usually those considered appropriate for their group. The range of roles available to subordinate-group members is therefore narrow and the status summation high. On the other hand, status summation is low for members of the dominant group in a racial stratification system and the range of roles open to them may extend from the least to the most desirable. The difference in the range of roles, *especially in the range of economic roles*, open to blacks and whites in the United States is well documented for various historical periods and for various regions (see Buckey, 1971; Drake & Cayton, 1970; Ferman *et al.*, 1968; Frazier, 1957; Gould, 1977; Henderson, 1967; Katzman, 1973; Levitan, Johnston, & Taggart, 1975; Myrdal, 1944; Purcell & Cavanagh, 1972; A.M. Ross, 1967; A.R. Ross, 1973). Following Drake and Cayton (1970) and Frazier (1957), I will use the concept of *job ceiling* to designate the practice of excluding blacks from free and equal competition with whites for the most desirable jobs and restricting them mostly to the least desirable ones in the wider American economy dominated by whites.[3]

What are the educational implications of the unequal range of roles available to the two racially stratified groups? *Because* my research has been concerned mostly with the examination of the relationship between black economic participation and black education and *because* the folk belief of the dominant whites is that education determines one's job status and that *it is the job that counts* (see Miller, 1971), I shall emphasize the educational implications of the job ceiling in the following discussion. The link between education and occupational hierarchy in the United States and other industrialized nations is well known: the higher the occupational hierarchy the longer the period of schooling and the higher the quality of education required of the incumbents. For example, people who occupy high-level positions in government, the professions, and industry are expected to have had more years of schooling than the average person and to have had the kind of education that equipped them with skills for problem-solving, synthesizing a wide range of information, decision-making, long-range planning, and the like. Such educational preparation is not required of those who occupy or are destined to occupy low-level positions in industry, the government, and the professions. I do not mean, of course, that there is a tightly-nested relationship between educational preparation and jobs. The point being emphasized is that in modern industrialized societies formal education is a means of certifying a pool of eligible workers for various levels of the occupational hierarchy, say for high-status jobs and for low-status jobs. In a class stratified system, individuals belong to

the pool of eligible workers in high-status jobs or to the pool of eligible workers in low-status jobs because of the cultural resources of their families, the ability of their families to pay for an extended period of schooling, the ability of the individual as measured by IQ, or a combination of all these. In a racially stratified system membership in the subordinate racial group more or less foreordains membership in the pool of eligible workers for low-status jobs because of the job ceiling. *Under this circumstance, it is membership in the pool of eligible workers in low-status jobs that determines the kind of educational preparation that members of the subordinate racial group need and eventually obtain.*

Again, I do not mean to imply that members of the subordinate racial groups are totally excluded from high-status jobs. Such jobs are available to them within segregated and parallel institutions like schools, churches, hospitals, banks, and the like, and there is usually a provision in their education for some people to prepare themselves for these special positions. In the United States the availability of such high-status positions has tended to expand with the growth of urban ghettos, and with various executive, legislative, and legal measures taken to raise the job and role ceilings against blacks in response to pressures from civil rights organizations (see Bullock, 1970; van den Berghe, 1967). But, in general, black eligibility for low-status jobs is ascribed and determines black educational preparation. In other words, because blacks have traditionally been excluded from economic roles requiring longer periods of schooling and high-quality education, the stratification system has not required most blacks to pursue such education except for the few who filled special, though now expanding, high-status roles within the segregated institutions and community.

Differences in patterns of social mobility under class and racial stratification systems also have different educational implications. Class stratification legitimizes social mobility in terms of individuals seeking to achieve self-improvement by moving from a lower-status group to a higher-status one. Moreover, class stratification prescribes how such mobility may be attained, which, in modern industrialized societies like the United States, is primarily by means of formal educational credentials. And this criterion for social mobility, educational credential, appears to be nearly the same for members of all social classes. In the absence of racial subordination or a caste system, an individual can attain a wide range of middle-class roles by obtaining the appropriate educational credentials. In the United States this possibility is enshrined in the dominant-white belief that more education means more employment opportunities, better jobs, better wages or salaries, better chances of promotion, higher social status, and better self-esteem. It is this belief, actualized in the experience of *many* whites, that motivates more or less the majority of white people from different social classes to work hard to succeed in school.

Although racial stratification forbids individual social mobility from one racial group to another, there is some vertical mobility even in the subordinate racial group. But it is different from the general class mobility and from the class mobility of the dominant racial group discussed above. In a racially stratified society, each group tends to develop its own class system, so that parallel but unequal class systems usually co-exist in such a society. Social mobility occurs within the class system of each racial group but the pattern varies for the dominant and the subordinate groups. The principal reasons for the difference are that, proportionately, members of the subordinate racial group have fewer high-status roles to compete for and that they have less access to education and other means of achieving high-status roles.

The limited number of high-status roles open to members of the subordinate racial group forces them to develop social mobility strategies that differ from those of the dominant group. In the first place, because of the smaller number of high-status roles many members of the subordinate racial group who obtain the necessary educational credentials or qualifications for such roles do not get them and are forced to take up low-status roles that do not require as much education. Eventually, as this gap between educational qualification and attainable roles persists, members of the subordinate racial groups are discouraged from seeking the high-status positions through formal educational qualifications. More importantly, they eventually come to realize that there are ways other than through formal education of achieving the same or substitute high-status positions. Among the alternative avenues are reliance on the patronage or sponsorship of the dominant group, collective rather than individual efforts (such as protests, boycotts, riots), legal action, and the like. In other words, as *many* members of the subordinate racial group come to *perceive* and *believe* that they are prevented by social structural forces from achieving individual social mobility through formal education, they tend to develop alternative strategies for achieving social mobility that are not dependent primarily on the belief system of the dominant group concerning social mobility and education. I have summarized elsewhere some of the major alternative strategies developed by black Americans for achieving social mobility or self-improvement (Ogbu, in press; see also Bullock, 1970; Drake & Cayton, 1970; Farmer, 1968; Huff, 1974; Norgren & Hill, 1964; Powdermaker, 1968; United States Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968).

One of these alternative strategies—the reliance on dominant-group patronage or sponsorship—deserves some further comment. In the case of black Americans it developed long before blacks were given access to formal education: in the period of slavery and for many generations after emancipation, some blacks were able to obtain higher social, economic, and political roles *as rewards from white people for knowing their place*. Those who attempted to achieve such positions through their own personal efforts, especially through competition with whites, were regarded as "uppity," "pushy," and "insolent" and they were correspondingly punished (see Johnson, 1943; Kornhauser, 1952; Powdermaker, 1968; van den Berghe, 1967). The sponsorship strategy became what is popularly known as "tomming" or "playing Uncle Tom," and is expressed in many forms in a variety of contexts. The primacy of the sponsorship strategy, which developed long before educational achievement was introduced to blacks as a means of achieving social mobility,

has not really been displaced or surpassed by the educational strategy. The principal reasons for the persistence of the superiority of white sponsorship as a strategy for social mobility are twofold: (a) the persistence of the job ceiling, and (b) the resulting *perception and belief* on the part of blacks that they do not have equal and free competition with white people for the more desirable roles in American society traditionally monopolized by the latter.

The educational implications of black social mobility patterns under American racial stratification go beyond the more or less unconscious rejection of educational achievement and the evolution of the alternative strategies for achieving social mobility. *The alternative strategies require a different set of skills when compared to the strategy emphasizing academic achievement or educational credentials*. For example, in order to be successful in winning the dominant-group sponsorship, members of the subordinate group must be skillful in subservient, compliant, and deference behavior. These behavioral skills are learned at home and then reinforced at school and in peer groups *because* they are adaptive or functional. Correspondingly, the behaviors that promote academic achievement, including competition, perseverance, and industriousness in schoolwork are not highly encouraged at home, in peer groups, and at school *because* they were traditionally not adaptive or functional.

The differential strategies for social mobility and the job and role ceiling have some important but as yet unexplored influence on problems of language, cognition, motivation, peer pressures, and the like, which are often seen by social scientists as the main determinants of black school performance. While it is not my intention to focus on these matters, I shall try to show in the concluding part of the essay how the social structural framework developed here can help to understand these problems better.

The situation sketched above is undoubtedly changing because of the expanding opportunities for blacks to participate in high-status roles mentioned earlier. But it is important to understand the social structural origin of the problem of black school failure in order to appreciate both the conditions promoting change and the pace of change in black academic achievement. As the Stockton study described below will show, the expansion of opportunities for black participation in high-status roles has not followed a steady course. Moreover, there is a kind of time-lag between the opening of new opportunities for high-status roles and the occurrence of appropriate changes in the perceptual and behavioral responses of blacks and their educators.

There are other minority groups in Stockton besides blacks and there are differences in attitudes, efforts, and school performance among them. However, the following analysis will focus on blacks because I intend it to illustrate my thesis that a social structural analysis provides a better approach than do the previous explanations to an understanding of why minority children fail in school.

Blacks in Stockton

Black Americans were originally brought to the United States as slaves. However, California was not a slave state, and the thirty-one black settlers in Stockton in 1850 had already achieved their freedom (Martin, 1959). But these and later black settlers were relegated to the status of a lower caste, as they have been throughout the history of the city.

The local black population remained rather small until the Second World War. Since then, it has increased greatly, largely through in-migration from the American South.[4] The caste status of blacks has been reinforced, as symbolized by increased residential segregation and restrictions on occupational opportunities. Blacks, in turn, have responded to their situation by forming local branches of various national civil rights organizations, such as the Congress of Racial Equality and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to fight discrimination generated by the racial stratification system.

The local racial stratification is more flexible today than it was, say, in 1960. It is considerably more flexible than it is in the Deep South. Nevertheless, it is this social system that largely determines the social relationship between blacks and whites, the nature of black participation in the social and economic life of the city, and black access to education and its rewards.

As in other parts of the United States, the racial stratification system in Stockton is based on folk beliefs about skin color and its association with some assumed innate differences. The black and white groups do not usually intermarry. When interracial marriages do take place, the couples are not fully accepted by either group. The offspring of such intermarriages, as well as any offspring resulting from other forms of interracial mating, are defined as black by local rule of descent in the racial caste system. This rule contrasts sharply with the rule of descent for offspring of other local interethnic matings. In the latter case, the children may be affiliated with the ethnic group of one or the other of their parents. For example, the offspring resulting from a mating between a black and a Chinese may belong to either the black or Chinese community or even to both. The same is true of the offspring resulting from a mating between a white person and a member of other ethnic groups. But all offspring resulting from matings between blacks and whites must affiliate only with blacks.

Because blacks are defined as an inferior racial caste, they have generally been given an inferior education. Moreover, when they complete their education they are not permitted to compete freely for desirable social positions and for jobs above the job ceiling. Before we examine the implications of these restrictions on black education and school performance, let us look at the nature of formal education in Stockton and its role in the achievement of adult status and self-improvement or social mobility among the dominant white caste.[5]

Education as a Bridge to Status

Public school education began in Stockton in 1853 as a tax-supported institution to prepare the young for adult life. Boys and girls attended separate schools at first, but beginning in 1864 some co-educational schools were built. High school courses were developed for the few students who continued their education beyond the elementary grades. In

1904 a separate high school, Stockton High, was built to meet the increasing demands for high school education by the local economic system. The high school was later extended to grades 13 and 14, and in 1948 a separate junior college campus was established for these two last grades. This has remained the highest level of public school education offered in Stockton. The latest addition to the public school system is the Regional Occupational Center, a vocational school.

In 1974 the Stockton public school system consisted of over thirty elementary schools, five junior high schools, three senior high schools, and one vocational school. The junior college is now an independent, state-supported institution of public education outside the city school system. Figure 1 shows the way in which this public school system is linked to institutions of higher education both in and outside the local community.

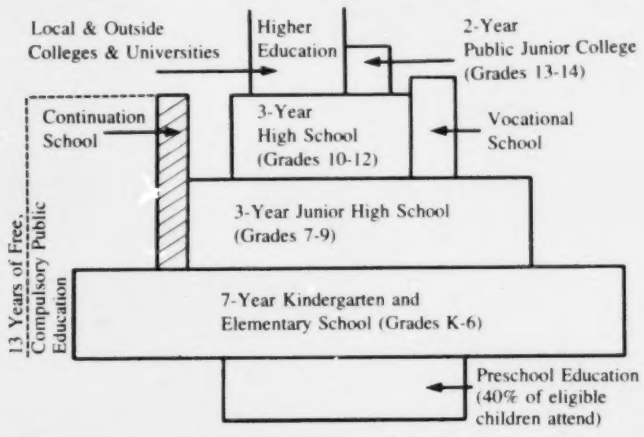
From the early days Stockton has also had a number of private schools ranging from grade schools to colleges. Some were established by religious organizations, others by private individuals. The present Humphrey Business College, established in 1875, is an example of a private, nonsectarian school. The University of the Pacific, on the other hand, is a Methodist school originally founded in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1851. It moved to Stockton in 1924 when it had some difficulty competing for students with other institutions of higher education. The people of Stockton offered both land and cash ($600,000 for building construction) to bring the school into their community.

Formal education in Stockton has evolved through many stages in response to changes in the local economic system. High schools and the junior college programs were added and then expanded as the local occupational structure began to require more and more formal education. For example, in 1948, after studying developments in the local occupational structure and their educational requirements, the school district reorganized its high school curriculum to permit the high schools to train students more effectively for local jobs (Stockton Unified School District, 1948a). A similar study at the county level in the 1960's resulted in the establishment of a separate vocational school, the Regional Occupational Center, to serve the occupational needs of the county. Changes designed to give students more academic training and higher education have also been made in response to changes in the educational requirements of the higher-level jobs. Presently, schooling is free and compulsory during the first thirteen years, that is, until the completion of high school or the attainment of age 18. But as will be shown later, many people, particularly members of the subordinate racial-minority groups, leave school before reaching 18 and before obtaining a high school diploma.

Figure 1

Organization of Schooling in Stockton

(This is not drawn according to scale)


Local & Outside Colleges & Universities
Higher Education
2-Year Public Junior College (Grades 13-14)
Continuation School
3-Year High School (Grades 10-12)
Vocational School
3-Year Junior High School (Grades 7-9)
7-Year Kindergarten and Elementary School (Grades K-6)
13 Years of Free, Compulsory Public Education
Preschool Education (40% of eligible children attend)

A high school diploma symbolizes the attainment of adulthood; the diploma itself is an important credential for any meaningful participation in the local economic system. Local whites, especially the middle-class whites, *believe and say*, like their peers in other parts of the country, that education is the most important means of improving one's social and occupational status. Good education, they say, enables one to get a good job, earn good wages, live in a good neighborhood, and hold important appointive and elective offices. In sum, formal education is the most important means of achieving adult status and social mobility. This theme comes up in all kinds of situations in which problems of education or employment are discussed. When Stocktonians run for elective offices, especially on the school board, they emphasize the need to provide more and better education for their community so that anyone will be able to get better jobs, earn higher wages, live in good neighborhoods, and fulfill the civic responsibility of paying taxes.

There is no doubt that among the white population, especially the middle-class whites, more education leads to better jobs and higher wages, and improves one's chances of living in a better neighborhood and having a higher standard of living. All available information on predominantly white neighborhoods shows that there is a good correlation between the median years of schooling completed by the adults and the median family income. White Stocktonians generalize from this experience and say that this correlation is not limited to them, but is true of all citizens. They further insist that in terms of jobs, wages, and places of residence, *the citizens of Stockton are judged as individuals according to their training and ability, not as members of categories.*

Education and Social Mobility in the Subordinate Racial Group

Jobs. No one has tried locally to investigate the extent to which education actually performs the same function for blacks as it does for whites. My own study shows that Stockton has never fully utilized the academic skills of blacks and that it has never offered them equitable rewards for their educational efforts in terms of jobs, income, housing, or social position. It has been much more difficult for blacks than perhaps for any other group in the city to advance socially and economically regardless of their education or length of residence. The first black settlers in the city worked as sailors, shopkeepers, cooks, carpenters, and muleteers in the gold mines (California, Fair Employment Practices Commission, 1972, p. 4).

But for the next one hundred years, blacks did not achieve much higher occupational status because of a *job ceiling* against them. Labor shortages during the Second World War resulted in many blacks, both old settlers and newcomers from the South, being absorbed into slightly higher occupations that whites had vacated to go into more desirable jobs created by the war. (In the war period Stockton was an important food processing center for the support of American military efforts abroad. United States Department of Justice, Model Cities Correctional Project, 1967.) After the war, blacks in the city were able to retain some of their occupational gains, but further advances were difficult. A school dropout study by the school district in 1947-48 found that blacks faced many employment barriers. The report further stated that blacks were "at best greatly restricted in their fields of occupational endeavors, and are subject for the most part, to less desirable social environment" (Stockton Unified School District, 1948b, pp. 7-8).[6] To this date the occupational status of blacks has remained relatively low, as can be seen in Table 1, showing the extent of black participation; the latter indicates by how much they are underrepresented or overrepresented in each category. An index of 100 would represent their proportional participation. The figures for 1960 include other nonwhites, such as the Chinese, Filipinos, and Japanese, thus tending to exaggerate both the black labor force and their index of participation for that year. The figures for 1970 include only blacks and more accurately reflect their occupational status. In 1970 the average participation of blacks above the job ceiling had an index of only 53.53.

Blacks and whites disagree regarding the reasons for the limited participation of blacks in occupations above the job ceiling. Whites say that blacks are underrepresented because they do not have the educational qualifications for such jobs. Blacks see it differently, however, contending that many white businesses and white-controlled public agencies would not hire them even if they were qualified. One event during my fieldwork in 1969 clearly illustrates the divergent perceptions of the problem, which must have enormous implications for blacks' perception of their schooling.

After several complaints by the minorities of deliberate exclusion from local government jobs, the city council appointed an investigative committee of council members and representatives of minority groups to probe into the allegations. During the committee hearing, called a "workshop in equality," it became clear that whites and blacks interpreted the "qualifications" required for the city jobs differently. The city charter initially required people to possess a certain level of formal education *before* they could take a standardized examination to qualify to be placed on the list of eligible candidates for city employment or for promotion, if they were already employed by the city. The standardized examination was to be comparable to the revised Army Alpha, and the acceptable minimum score was to be from 94 to 110 IQ. Some of these requirements had changed in 1969. For example, the Army Alpha test was not being used anymore; the acceptable minimum score was now 70 percent, or 60-65 percent for war veterans. But in spite of these changes, few minorities made the list or were employed by the city above the job ceiling.

City authorities said that minority underrepresentation

Table 1

Nonwhites (Blacks) as Percentage of All Employed Persons in Stockton in 1960 and 1970, and Index of Their Participation in the Same Years

	Percentage Black		Index of Black Participation	
Occupation Group	1960*	1970	1960*	1970
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	8.43	5.36	56.81	68.02
Managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm	11.05	2.07	74.46	26.27
Clerical and kindred workers	7.85	6.48	52.90	82.23
Sales	7.37	2.40	49.66	30.46
Craftsmen/foremen	6.59	4.78	44.41	60.66
Job Ceiling				
Operatives	16.14	12.00	108.76	152.28
Private household workers	44.07	30.94	296.97	392.64
Service workers	22.52	10.80	151.75	137.06
Laborers, except farm	29.84	17.28	201.08	219.29
Farm laborers	?	5.08	?	64.47
Farmers	?	?	?	?
Total, all employed nonwhites/blacks	14.84	7.88		
Average participation				
(1) above the job ceiling			55.70	53.53
(2) below the job ceiling			189.64	193.15

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. Stockton, California: Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. 1960, Tables p. 4, p. 45; 1970, Tables p. 6, p. 44.

*Figures for 1960 include other nonwhites.

above the job ceiling occurred because the minorities were not able to pass the qualifying examinations. They further said that the tests provided a universal, objective basis for selecting the best qualified personnel for an efficient local government. In their view, the minorities failed to pass the tests at an acceptable level because they had "special handicaps." And they promised that the city would try to discover what those handicaps were and develop rehabilitation programs to help the minorities overcome the handicaps so that they could do better on the examinations. The minority representatives disagreed, saying that the tests were culturally biased against them and that the tests did not really determine their ability to do the jobs from which they were excluded. To support their statements, they cited cases of people who were rejected by the city for failing the tests but were later hired by private business establishments where they performed well on their jobs (for example, as truck drivers). Other events seemed to support the minority interpretation of the situation. Public agencies and local private businesses generally found and hired "qualified" blacks whenever the latter organized effective protests and boycotts or threatened to do so, as happened in 1967 and 1969-70 (see Ogbu, in press). Moreover, public agencies required by government funding to comply with the affirmative action policy generally found "qualified" local blacks, obtained them through local manpower training programs, or sent recruiting teams to the American South to find them.

A comparison of blacks and the general population between 1960 and 1970 in terms of advancement in educational attainment on the one hand and occupational status on the other also tends to suggest that the problem is not merely one of lack of educational qualification. This can be seen by comparing Table 1 above, which shows the gap between blacks and the general population in occupational status, with Table 2, which shows the gap between them in educational attainment, over the same period. Table 2 shows that in 1960 the median years of schooling completed by nonwhites, including blacks, was 8.3 or 79.81 percent of the median for the general population. Among those 25 years and over completing at least 1 to 3 years of high school, the index of nonwhite educational attainment averaged 61.43, leaving a gap of 38.57. We may assume that the minimum educational attainment required for participation in occupations above the job ceiling is some high school education (Norgren & Hill, 1964). The index of nonwhite participation above the job ceiling in 1960 was 55.70 (Table 1), which was lower than their educational attainment index and lower than would be expected from the gap in median school years completed. In 1970, when the figures are for blacks only, the discrepancy increases: the median years of schooling completed by blacks has increased to 85 percent of the median for the general population, and their educational attainment index is now 69.26; but the index of their participation above the job ceiling is only 53.53, which is even lower than the index of the nonwhite participation in 1960.

I can summarize my observations in Stockton by saying that before the passage of the civil rights laws of the mid-1960's, especially those pertaining to affirmative action, the more desirable jobs were closed to blacks through the use of standardized tests and other mechanisms. Blacks were fully aware of the job ceiling against them and interpreted the test-score requirements for employment as deliberate devices of exclusion. Perhaps for this reason they did not always prepare themselves for jobs above the job ceiling: they did not expect to be hired for such jobs even if they met the formal educational requirements by, for example, obtaining a high school diploma or a college degree. Before the mid-1960's the jobs typically available to local blacks did not require much education, and blacks' perceptions of their schooling and their academic efforts were shaped by this situation.

The sudden opening up of some higher positions—above the job ceiling—in the mid-1960's because of affirmative action requirements created new problems: blacks were confronted with new and better employment opportunities, but most of them were without the formal "qualifications" re-

Table 2

Nonwhites (Blacks) as Percentage of All Persons in Stockton, 25 Years of Age and Over, Completing Specific Levels of Education in 1960 and 1970, and the Index of Nonwhite (Black) Representation at Each Level

	Percentage Nonwhite/Black		Index of Nonwhite/Black Attainment	
Level of Education	1960*	1970	1960*	1970
Median school years completed by nonwhites/blacks	8.3	10.2	79.81	85.0
High school				
1 to 3 years	11.31	9.13	80.16	101.21
4 years	9.03	6.39	64.00	70.84
College				
1 to 3 years	7.79	5.21	55.21	57.76
4 years	6.54	4.26	46.35	47.23
Average attainment index			61.43	69.26
Total, all nonwhite/black 25 years and over	14.11	9.02		

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. Stockton, California: Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. 1960, Tables p. 1, p. 13; 1970, Tables p. 4, p. 45.

*Figures for 1960 include other nonwhites.

quired by the new jobs. In fact, a more serious problem was also created by the new situation and is one that is misunderstood by both blacks and whites. Basically, it was a *problem of time lag*. Whites, including those who were philosophically committed to affirmative action and to equal employment opportunities for everyone, behaved as if they expected to find a ready group of "qualified" blacks to fill the new positions. When they did not they began to think, talk, and act as if the lack of qualifications was what had held generations of blacks back from achieving their proportional share of employment above the job ceiling. They failed to see that the gap in qualifications was the result of previous employment barriers. For their part, blacks continued to interpret the new situation in the light of their past experiences. Many of them were too frustrated to seek new opportunities for which they were not qualified. Some were also skeptical, wondering if the situation was really changing for the better.

Developments in local government employment as reported by the local NAACP to the City Council on January 18, 1977, would suggest that things have not changed much. According to the report, in 1977 there were 52 blacks among the total work force of 1102, that is, blacks constituted 4.72 percent of the local government employees in 1977. This is down from the figure of 49 out of 918 employees or 5.34 percent in 1972 (Best, 1977, p. 1). As in the past, most blacks are still employed below the job ceiling.

Income. The restriction of most blacks to unskilled labor means that they experience in greater proportion than does the white racial caste both seasonal employment and unemployment. The unemployment rates for black males, both in 1960 and 1970, were almost twice the rates for white males; the rates for black females were more than five times those for white females (Ogbu, 1974, p. 49; South Stockton Parish, 1967). And unemployment and underemployment are the two major causes of poverty among blacks in Stockton. In 1960, for instance, the median income of a black family was $4,279 compared to the median income of $6,059 for the city population as a whole. In 1970 this income gap widened, the black median family income being $6,021 and the city median family income being $9,533. This increasing income gap is not the result of an increasing gap in educational attainment; there was, in fact, a significant reduction in the educational gap between 1960 and 1970.

As Table 3 suggests, an equal amount of education does not lead to equal income for blacks and whites. For 13 of the census tracts in Stockton, data are available by race for 1969; in 7 out of 10 of these, blacks had higher median years of schooling completed but substantially lower median family income as compared with total population. In 3 out of the 10 tracts (tracts 19, 20, and 38) where blacks had more median years of schooling than the general population, their income was slightly above the median for the tract only. In only 1 out of the 13 tracts (tract 6) did blacks have slightly higher income although they had lower median years of schooling completed. This unusual situation is partly explained by the curious combination of a high concentration of blacks employed above the job ceiling (45.33 percent in professional, management, clerical, and skilled crafts jobs) and a relatively low level of educational attainment (the tract ranks 10th among the 13 in education). This probably means that many of those employed above the job ceiling rely on the black community for their income (e.g., preachers, morticians, builders, and so

Table 3

Median Family Income for Blacks and the General Population Compared to Median Years of Schooling Completed by Blacks and the General Population in Census Tracts with 400 or More Blacks, 1969

Census Tract	Percentage of Anglo Whites*	Median Years of School Completed		Median Family Income	
		Total	Black	Total	Black
1+	37.18	8.7	9.3	$4,732	$4,625
6	23.38	9.3	8.9	4,545	5,500
7	10.55	8.6	8.5	7,094	3,775
8+	15.36	7.7	8.3	4,708	3,917
19	12.02	9.3	10.6	6,571	7,274
20	21.88	10.0	11.3	7,784	8,588
21+	20.48	10.8	11.0	9,318	8,588
22+	14.62	9.6	10.3	5,367	4,633
23+	15.23	10.0	10.5	6,435	5,818
24+	11.0	8.3	9.3	6,404	6,035
25+	9.42	9.0	10.8	5,329	4,231
28	46.22	8.8	8.6	7,148	3,913
38	64.0	10.8	11.2	6,077	6,643

Sources: Stockton City Planning Department, Neighborhood Analysis Program, Profile No. 5, 1974: 43, and San Joaquin County Planning Department, 1973.

*With the exception of tract 38, the tracts listed are minority tracts, as can be seen from the small percentage of Anglo Whites in each. Yet black family median income is nearly always lower than that of the general population of each tract, suggesting that even when compared with other minorities blacks are the least rewarded for their education.

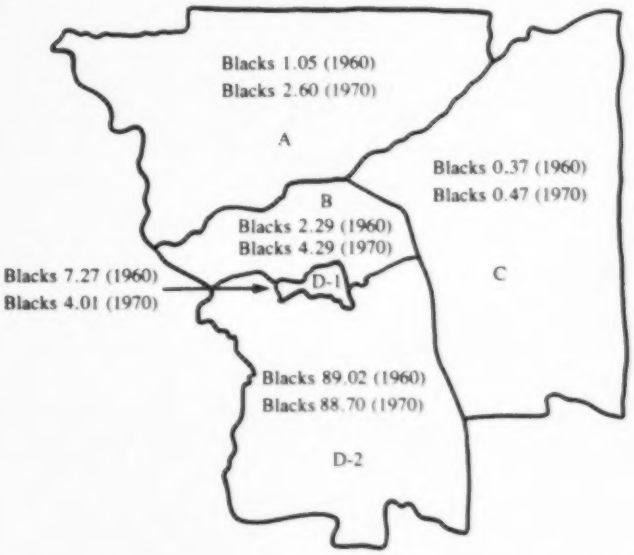
+Tracts in which median education of blacks is above the median for the general population but in which median income of blacks is lower.

on). A few of the professionals, especially the women, are schoolteachers. On the other hand, this tract has a high concentration of nonblack families who depend on public assistance for their income. The high proportion of nonblack families relying on public assistance depresses the median income for nonblack families; the presence of a small but significant number of black professionals and others employed above the job ceiling raises the median income of the black families. Unlike members of other groups, these relatively affluent blacks have probably not been able to move out of this ghetto because of racial caste barriers in housing.

Housing. Just as most blacks have not been able to obtain jobs or income similar to those of whites with the same level of schooling, so also they have not been able to buy or rent homes in the neighborhoods of their choice. Figure 2 shows the concentration of the total nonwhite population in each of the five metropolitan districts of Stockton in 1960 and 1970. The concentration of the nonwhite groups, especially blacks, in the least desirable district—D2—began during and after World War II. In 1950, about 75 percent of the nonwhite population lived in districts D1 and D2, and their proportion rose to 88 percent in 1960. Although the concentration of the nonwhite population in districts D1 and D2 decreased to 78 percent in 1970, that of blacks remained nearly the same, 89.02 percent in 1960 and 88.57 percent in 1970. Of all the minority groups in Stockton, blacks made the least progress in establishing residence in predominantly white neighborhoods, especially in North Stockton (Districts A and B), between 1960 and 1970.

Figure 2

Metropolitan Stockton Showing Distribution of Blacks in Various Districts as Percentage of Total Metropolitan Black Population



Adapted from Stockton City Planning Department Neighborhood Analysis Program, Profile No. 2, 1973: 212, 216

Local informants usually have two general explanations for the slow rate at which blacks have been able to move into the more desirable northern districts. First, they suggest that it is due to poverty; i.e., the low economic status of blacks prevents them from buying homes in the more affluent or expensive parts of the community. They also say that blacks in Stockton lack adequate education to enable them to get good jobs and wages which would then enable them to buy homes in the better parts of the city where whites live. Such informants insist that the first step toward integrated residential neighborhoods in Stockton is to give black children quality education in their present neighborhood schools. They say that this will increase their chances of getting good jobs and earning higher wages than the present generation of adult blacks, and thus they will be able to afford to buy homes in the more expensive sections of the city. But the same proponents of this view are opposed to school integration by busing as a way of achieving the quality education which they advocate; they are also opposed to building low-cost housing in North Stockton as a way of achieving integrated neighborhoods.

The other explanation is that blacks are not able to move to North Stockton because of discrimination and prejudice (City of Stockton, 1970, pp. 31-35). This explanation is usually couched in terms of what may be called the "racial discrimination cycle." That is, it is suggested that each minority group that arrives in Stockton goes through a period of discrimination until it reaches a stage of acceptance by the dominant white group. Then it is able to integrate residentially with the white majority. This pattern began with the arrival of the Chinese in the 1870's, it is argued; the Chinese were followed by the Japanese, then the Filipinos, and then the Mexican-Americans; then lastly, the blacks. Thus prejudice and discrimination are more intense against blacks today because they were the last to arrive; but given time, prejudice and discrimination will disappear and blacks will, like others before them, be able to move into North Stockton and integrate with whites. This theory obviously ignores the fact that blacks have been in Stockton since the city was founded in 1848, and have experienced prejudice and discrimination ever since (see Litherland, 1973, p. 8; Ogbu, 1974).

Residential segregation of blacks in Stockton cannot be attributed solely to the poverty of blacks. In 1963, for instance, the average cost of homes in the North Stockton area was about $16,500. Many blacks who were refused the right to buy homes in those districts were professional workers: teachers, social workers, medical doctors, and so on. A study of this group showed that they had an average annual family income of about $12,000. They also had completed median school years far above the city average. Many white families living in the neighborhoods from which these blacks were barred had incomes well below $12,000 and much less education (see Meer and Freedman, 1966; Ogbu, 1974, p. 44). The twenty black families who successfully crossed the residential caste line in 1963 did so by buying the homes of civil rights-minded white residents of these neighborhoods; that is, they bought directly from property owners rather than going through real estate agents. In my interviews with some of these black residents in 1969 and 1970, they repeatedly recounted

the stiff white opposition to their presence, and the personal indignities they had suffered after moving into their new homes.

Black population in the northern districts rose from 0.1 percent to 0.9 percent of the total population mostly during the second half of the 1960's when Stockton, like other northern cities, became more civil rights-minded amidst the social reforms of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. This was also the period when the local public agencies such as the school system actively recruited black professionals from the Southern states and elsewhere. Most of the newcomers moved into the northern and north-central districts and formed a substantial portion of the increase in the black population there. Also contributing to the increase was an organized black boycott of real estate agencies because of their policy of refusing to sell homes in good neighborhoods to blacks. The mechanisms used by these agents and the dominant white groups to keep blacks out of the more desirable neighborhoods were the same as those for the United States as a whole (Ogbu, 1974, p. 44; City of Stockton, 1970; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967). The result is that most black people have been forced to occupy those neighborhoods with the least desirable housing, irrespective of their education or their occupational and economic status.

We see then that under the local racial caste system, education does not serve as a bridge to the same or equal adult status for blacks and whites. Various devices are used to restrict blacks to menial social and economic roles and to less desirable residential neighborhoods, regardless of their education.

Education Prepares Blacks for Inferior Roles

The problem of channeling blacks to inferior social and economic roles is partially solved during their schooling. Most of them do not perform well enough in school or go far enough to be able to compete effectively with whites for high-status jobs in adult life. The reasons for this situation include the fact that blacks have not generally had equal access with whites to the same quality education. Also, blacks' perception of schooling and their academic efforts are highly influenced by their perception of limited future chances to utilize and benefit from education. The result is low school performance and early termination of schooling, which are, of course, compatible with the low educational requirements of their typical adult roles in the community.

Access. The racial stratification system has always had a direct restrictive influence on the education of black children. For example, during the first sixteen years of the public school system (1863-1879), blacks, along with American Indians, were forbidden to attend the same school with whites. The increase in the black population of the city altered the distribution of black students in the public schools. Since blacks were denied the freedom to live in neighborhoods of their choice, they concentrated in a few neighborhoods. And because Stockton's schools were neighborhood schools, they became racially segregated.

In 1974 the California Rural Legal Assistance Board sued the Stockton Unified School District, charging it with discrimination against minorities. Some local informants as well as some witnesses in the 1974-75 suit said that official policies of the school district had contributed to the growth of racially segregated schools. The school authorities denied that they had had anything to do with it; they insisted, instead, that the ethnic and racial composition of the public schools was the result of residential patterns in the community. The problem of school integration is discussed briefly below; what needs to be pointed out here is that the school administration had begun in 1967 to search for an integration plan that would be acceptable to the Board of Education and the community.

Stockton school authorities also denied that they had employed such gross mechanisms of discrimination as unequal funding, facilities, and staffing for minority and majority schools. I did not systematically investigate these problems, but took note of several occasions when they were discussed at public meetings or mentioned by local critics during interviews. The latter often pointed out that equal funding and equal facilities for majority and minority schools were not enough; that more should have been given to the minority schools because of their greater needs. Repeated allegations about unequal staffing of majority and minority schools led the superintendent to issue a public statement to the effect that the staffing of the schools was equal (SUSD, Minutes, Board of Education, 1969a, p. 4456). In a subsequent proposal for school integration prepared for the Board of Education, the superintendent acknowledged that in the area of minority employment there might have been some past discrimination; however, he said, the district voluntarily abandoned discriminatory practices in employment in 1947 and was one of the first California school districts to do so. He also pointed out that between 1965 and 1969 his administration had deliberately increased by 57 percent the number of minority teachers and by 100 percent the number of minority classified (i.e. non-certificated) staff. In 1969, he said, minority teachers were working in 41 of the district's 43 schools and minority classified staff members in 38 of the 43 schools (SUSD, 1969c).

Subtle Mechanisms of Inferior Education

Although officially sanctioned discrimination probably no longer exists in Stockton and may be difficult to prove, there are some subtle ways in which local educational policies and practices contribute to the low performance of black pupils. Among these are low teacher expectations and attitudes, clinical definitions of black academic problems, testing and tracking, a biased curriculum and textbooks, and socialization into lower expectations and inferior jobs.

Teachers. There are two levels at which the attitudes and expectations of teachers affect the performance of black pupils. First, the relationship between teachers and parents prevents the two groups from discussing realistically the sources of black pupils' academic problems or how to deal with them; second, the teachers' methods of evaluating their pupils' classroom performance do not encourage the pupils to learn how efforts are related to rewards, nor do the methods

teach them proper study habits and other skills needed for maximizing classroom performance.

The stereotypes, negative attitudes, and expectations that characterize parent-teacher relationships and contribute to low academic performance are partly the result of the physical and social distance between teachers and parents. Few teachers live in black neighborhoods, and most confine their contacts with blacks to school settings where the two groups tend to interact as representatives of their respective racial groups. Interracial stereotypes, attitudes, and expectations thus prevent them from using monthly PTA meetings and quarterly parent-teacher conferences to discuss realistically why black children have academic problems and how to improve their school performance. But even when a discussion takes place, teachers do not readily accept parents' diagnoses of their children's academic problems or their suggestions for solving the problems because they believe that parents are not "experts" in educational matters. For their part, the parents are skeptical of the teachers' explanations of their children's academic problems because teachers tend to attribute these problems to the children's "home environment."

During my fieldwork I interviewed some parents who pointed out that teachers rejected their explanations of their children's school failure and their suggestions for eliminating it. The rejection of the parents' opinions often proved disastrous, as can be illustrated with the case of one grade 12 boy. According to his parents he was very "smart" in the early grades but later became increasingly uninterested in his schoolwork and began to receive low marks on his report card. After talking with him, his parents decided that the problem was that the classwork was too easy and boring for him. They then discussed this view with his teacher and the school principal, and asked that their son be given some "extra" work. The parents said that they were not listened to and that their son's problems grew worse and worse. At the time of the interview he was making mostly D's and F's in his classes.

Parent-teacher conferences are held at the end of the quarter and are supposed to provide an opportunity for teachers and parents to discuss the children's academic standing realistically. But they do not seem to serve this purpose from the parents' point of view. First, most of the parents invited are those whose children have failed their courses; second, the conferences are scheduled *after* the children have failed. Parents say that teachers generally attribute school failure to children's "home environment" and that the purpose of the conference is to blame parents for their children's school failure. Furthermore, they say that if teachers really want parents to help prevent school failure they should hold the conferences when they begin to observe that children are experiencing learning problems and not wait until children have actually failed. The parents say that they do not openly express these reservations because they do not want to appear uncooperative and compromise their children's chances of future relative success at school. Therefore, when they go to the conference they often pretend to agree with the teachers, while they remain inwardly skeptical. This parental behavior serves two important functions for teachers and parents. On the one hand, it reinforces teachers' beliefs about the negative effects of black families and neighborhoods on children's schoolwork; and on the other hand, it relieves parents of personal responsibility for their children's school failure because the teachers have attributed it to their kind of people and culture rather than to the failings of individual parents.

When an American public school teacher evaluates children's class work by assigning letter grades A, B, C, and so on or by using any other symbol system, he or she is not only rewarding pupils for their immediate efforts but is also teaching them important values and skills that are adaptive throughout their schooling and later in the wider community. Through this reward system children learn that higher rewards, say a B mark instead of a C, can be achieved through better work habits and persevering efforts. When elementary school children develop this attitude and its behavioral component, namely, good work habits and performance strategies, they thereby acquire an important learning tool or skill that will facilitate good performance in junior and senior high schools. The same attitude and behavior pattern can be transferred later to post-school participation as adults in the wider community, which ideally, rewards its members (in terms of jobs, wages, promotions, etc.) on the basis of achievement.

The experiences of black children in the elementary school I studied appear to be different. The marks they receive do not really differentiate them on the basis of achievement, that is they do not reflect various levels of performance among the children. Most children complete grade 1 with the mark of C or D, which is locally called the "average grade." In subsequent years teachers consistently give them the same average grade, regardless of their performance. That actual performance may vary more widely among the pupils and for the same pupil from year to year is suggested by teachers' written comments on individual pupils. Teachers often write that they are "delighted" about a child's progress; they may favorably compare his or her "progress" this year with that of the previous year or with the "progress" of classmates. Yet they give the child the same average mark as the previous year and the same average grade received by "less progressive" classmates. As an illustration I will cite the case of 17 children (blacks and Mexican Americans) who received the average mark of C at the end of grade 1 in the 1964-65 school year. Sixteen of these children continued to receive the same C mark through grade 6 in 1969. The one exception received a C+ to B− in one year. This means that throughout their elementary school career, under several teachers, 94.12 percent of these children maintained the same level of achievement! Written comments by teachers suggest, however, that some were definitely doing better than C work and others doing worse.

The fact that the children are not rewarded on the basis of their real *performance* or *ability*, nor for their "progress" or "efforts," contributes to their school failure in a number of ways. First, the children fail to learn to associate earning higher marks with making greater efforts in their classwork. Second, they do not learn to develop proper work habits and performance strategies that facilitate earning higher marks. Both weaknesses result in still poorer marks when the children enter junior high school and subsequently high school. There teachers do not have access to the children's previous aca-

demic records and are therefore less prone to give them the "average grade" established in the elementary school. The initial grading at the junior high school probably accurately reflects the children's efforts. And lower marks the pupils receive partly reflect their previous failure to learn the proper connection between efforts and good marks as well as good performance strategies (Ogbu 1974, pp. 164-69).

Why do teachers evaluate black students the way we have just described? Why do elementary school teachers not assign marks that properly differentiate black children by levels of performance? A part of the answer lies in the situation described in the previous section: the reward system that blacks experience in the classroom is compatible with the reward system blacks experience as adults in the wider community, where, as I have argued, they are not hired, paid, or promoted on the basis of education or ability. The school is, therefore, preparing black children for their future experiences in adult life.

Clinical definitions. A more fundamental problem, however, is that pupils' academic problems are often defined as clinical problems, so that therapy replaces academic and vocational guidance. Counselors share other educators' beliefs that local black children come from homes where they have no models for academic success and for the types of middle-class jobs for which the schools are supposed to prepare them. These beliefs and assumptions would lead one to expect the counselors to show the children how to succeed in school and how to make the connection between school efforts and their chances for qualifying for various types of jobs when they finish school. But this help is not given for a number of reasons. First, there are not enough counselors to do the job well. For instance, in the junior high schools almost all the counselors are teaching counselors, devoting from 1½ to 2½ hours a day for an average counseling load of 300 to 360 students. In the senior high schools all are full-time counselors, but their load of counselees is equally heavy, making it nearly impossible for them to see many students who need counseling. Besides, the counselors spend a disproportionate amount of their time on "programing," preregistration, course changes, and other noncounseling matters, and they complain that they are forced to act as buffers between different groups, such as parents, teachers, local and central school administration, and community agencies.

Counselors are acutely aware that there are many more children with academic problems than they can help. But faced with overwork and inadequate time, and faced with the fact that teachers expect them to deal with behavior problems manifested in the classroom, counselors generally *redefine* their work with most students in terms of therapy intended to eliminate the "school adjustment" problems that the counselors think are caused by the children's "home environment," and that they see as obstructing classroom learning. That is, because they define the children's academic problems as those of personal adjustment to the school environment, counselors see therapy as the solution. Some say that to help the children solve their academic problems, to help them get to a point where they can begin to learn successfully in the classroom, they must first eliminate the psychological and social problems of adjustment. As it turns out, they rarely succeed in solving the social adjustment problems and therefore rarely get to the academic ones.

Testing and tracking. Because students do not learn in the early grades to associate classroom efforts with the marks they receive, they generally perform poorly on standardized tests. One incident will illustrate this. During my fieldwork I learned of a boy who was sent to take an individual IQ test to see if he would be classified as an "exceptional" student because he had scored 115 points on a group IQ test. His performance on the individual test turned out to be very poor; and my informant explained that the reason was that the boy did not understand the significance of the test and so had not tried to maximize his score.

Because black students do not perceive the importance of maximizing their performance on the standardized tests, testing and tracking constitute a major mechanism through which their education is kept inferior. Some teachers and principals point out that their pupils' real ability is not reflected in the test results; but still the results are used to classify their students into various "ability groups," namely, X, Y, Z, which more or less determine their public school careers and beyond. A few citations from annual reports of school principals will show the internal opposition to the uses of these tests.

The 1967 annual report of the principal of the elementary school I studied stated that there was a discrepancy between the tested IQ of his grade 6 students and their scores on Stanford Reading and Math tests. The pattern of the students' performance, he said, did not agree with his own or the teacher's knowledge of these students. Nor were the test results consistent with their previous years' performance: in one year the students' performance on the achievement tests was below their expected level (on the basis of their scores on IQ tests), while in another year it was above (SUSD, 1967b, pp. 7-8). In the neighborhood I studied, the report of the junior high principal in 1969 suggested that the method of selecting students for remedial compensatory education programs should be revised because the practice of selecting them on the basis of their IQ test scores seemed inadequate from his personal knowledge of the students (SUSD, 1969a, p. 2). And the year before that the neighborhood's senior high principal had written that even though the test results were used for assigning his students to their different classes, how the students actually performed in those classes was determined by their willingness to do the work and their perseverance in doing it, not by their assumed ability levels as indicated by IQ test scores (SUSD, 1968a, p. 3).

The placement of the children in X, Y, Z, ability groups affects their schooling in many ways, but the focus here will be on its influence on the curriculum. There are two ways in which the tracking system affects children's participation in the curriculum. First, beginning at the elementary school, children in the same classrooms but in different ability groups are assigned different amounts and kinds of materials in reading and math. At the junior high school these groups become separate classes with different teachers (SUSD, 1969a, p. 2). Teachers also may employ different instructional techniques, which are said to be adapted to the needs of the groups, and

teachers have different expectations of children in the various ability groups. The second impact of tracking on the curriculum begins to crystallize during the last year of the junior high. This has to do with the division of the curriculum into areas of college preparatory, business, vocational, and general education. In theory the participation of students in these areas *should* depend not only on their membership in a given ability group but also on their interests and needs. But in practice their participation, especially in college preparatory courses, is determined largely by membership in the ability groups. Most of those deemed qualified for the college prep courses come from the X group. Prior to 1969 no student from the Z group was likely to be permitted to take the college preparatory courses, regardless of his or her interests and needs (Ogbu, 1974, p. 200). As most black students were in the Y and Z groups, they were largely excluded from the college prep courses.

Thus far I have discussed mainly the "normal" students. But there are others who are classified as "retarded" because of their very poor performance on the standardized tests. These (called Educable Mentally Retarded, EMR, or Trainable Mentally Retarded, TMR) are children whose test scores are so poor that they are not regarded as capable of doing even the classroom work designed for the Z (lowest) ability group. They attend a separate school from which they eventually graduate into job training programs operated by Goodwill Industries and other agencies, to prepare them for their special place in the adult community. I have no exact figures on the number of minority or black students in the TMR group, but my informants believe that most of these students are minorities.

I have said that the principals of the schools serving the neighborhood I studied questioned the validity of the results of the standardized tests that were used to classify their students into ability groups and to determine what the students are taught. Even the then superintendent of the schools acknowledged at a Board of Education meeting in 1968 that for a number of reasons (e.g., language barriers, cultural differences), the test results did not accurately reflect the ability of minority-group children, and that tracking the children into X, Y, and Z groups probably had detrimental effects on their education. He explained the latter by saying that those who were placed in the low (Z) ability group did not readily merge into the higher groups because the tendency to design the curriculum for students in various ability groups actually reinforces the assumed differences between them (SUSD, Board of Education, 1968b, p. 4251).

But why did the Stockton school district continue until recently to track blacks into low ability groups if teachers, principals, and even the superintendent did not really believe that the test results used in the tracking were valid, and if the superintendent recognized that the curriculum tended to reinforce the differences between the groups? From my personal knowledge of the principals and the superintendent, I do not think that they deliberately practiced the tracking to give black children inferior education. But the tracking nonetheless effectively contributed to black school failure and prepared blacks for inferior economic roles in the wider society. It took a strong protest on the part of the black community for the school authorities to begin to consider dismantling the tracking system, starting at the high school level in 1969 (Ogbu, 1974, pp. 199-200).

Biased textbooks and curriculum. The stereotyping of blacks in textbooks, especially in the history and literature books, constitutes yet another way in which schools train local blacks for their lower positions in society. At the time of my fieldwork, blacks were beginning to protest the use for instruction of such books as *Little Black Sambo, Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and *Tom Sawyer* which, as one woman told the school superintendent, caused embarrassment to black children (SUSD, Minutes, Board of Education, 1968a, pp. 4211-4213). The portrayal of blacks in negative, stereotyped, and subordinate roles in the history textbooks was also a subject of black protest during my study. Subsequently the school district revised the history curriculum, removing portions of it that minority groups found to be unacceptable and including others more acceptable to them (SUSD, Minutes, Board of Education, 1968b, pp. 4251-4255).[8]

Socialization into low future expectations. In a previous section I discussed the consequences of the racial caste barriers against blacks in jobs, income, and housing. Blacks disagree with whites that they are excluded from the more desirable jobs because of lack of ability or education. And the two groups interpret differently the results of the tests purporting to measure the ability of candidates for local government jobs. Blacks generally say that they do not have equal opportunity with whites in employment and promotion; that they are unhappy and angry because they have to be twice as qualified in order to get a job or promotion where they can compete directly with whites (Ogbu, 1974, pp. 98-101).

Local blacks react to these barriers in several ways. Some accept the situation fatalistically and do nothing. Some try to circumvent the barriers by playing "Uncle Toms," manipulating whites and making them feel that "Black people know their place." Many blacks and whites regard successful local blacks as people who played Uncle Toms. Interviews with some of these successful blacks do not always bear this out; but the point to be stressed is the widespread belief that blacks do not achieve social and economic success by merely getting education and working hard like whites and that to achieve social and economic success blacks must perhaps also become Uncle Toms. More recently blacks have increasingly resorted to collective protests, organized boycotts, and other means described earlier in their efforts to overcome the racial-caste barriers in jobs, income, and housing.

Blacks' perception of these barriers and their efforts to overcome them affect their perception of and response to schooling. Although they *express* as much interest in education as whites, they do not work as hard to maximize their school performance, partly because they do not expect the same future opportunities for occupational, financial, and social rewards for their education.[9] One parent, for instance, told me that he chose to make the Navy a career rather than go to college because "more education did not promise to pay." Junior and senior high school students I interviewed clearly indicated that they were aware of the job ceiling, which they

considered unfair; they believed that school success would not necessarily enable them to get the same kind of jobs as their white peers. On the whole, as previously indicated, black students do not seem to take their schoolwork seriously and do not try to maximize their classroom accomplishments (Ogbu, 1974, pp. 66-70).

Black children learn about the racial caste-barriers from observing their parents, older siblings, other relatives, family friends, and neighbors. They learn, too, to evaluate their schooling in terms of the caste barriers from listening to older people talk about these matters and from discussions of the same problems by black civil rights leaders at meetings and in the mass media. The older the children get the more they tend to believe that *all black people*, not just those around them, are faced with racial-caste barriers in jobs, wages, housing, and so on, regardless of their education. Finally, as they reach the age when they begin to look for part-time jobs or begin to think of future employment, their symbolic and actual experiences of job disrimination increase their disillusionment and further depress their school performance.

Low School Performance

I have tried to show that racial stratification barriers to equal participation in adult roles in the wider community greatly influence various aspects of black education: blacks' unequal access to quality education, the subtle mechanisms used to keep their education inferior to that of whites, and their own perception of schooling and schooling efforts. These factors in turn determine the outcome of their schooling, namely, the nature of their performance as measured by various tests and how long they remain in school. Elsewhere (Ogbu, 1974, pp. 82-84) I have used the marks given by classroom teachers to show the relatively poor performance of black students. In this section I shall focus on their low performance on standardized achievement tests administered district-wide annually and on their tendency to terminate their schooling rather early.

There is very little information about the kinds of academic difficulties black children experienced in Stockton schools prior to the Second World War, probably because their number was relatively small; they constituted about 1.2 percent of the school population in 1900, decreasing to 0.9 percent in 1930 (Sears *et al.*, 1938, pp. 11-13). The influx of blacks into the city during and after the War both increased the proportion of black pupils and brought their specific problems to the fore. A survey of Stockton schools in the 1947-48 school year found that blacks had the highest dropout rate—that less than 30 percent of the black pupils in grades 7 and 8 reached grade 12 and that fewer were actually graduating from high school (SUSD, 1948b, p. 4).

Differences between blacks and whites in school performance today can be seen by comparing the results of standardized achievement tests administered at the elementary and senior high schools (see also Ogbu, 1974, pp. 97-101). These tests were first given in Stockton in 1965 as a result of legislative requirement, at grade levels 1, 3, 6, and 10. The law specified that Stanford Reading Achievement Tests for various grades should be used. In 1969 some modifications were introduced by the legislature. One was the replacement of the Stanford Reading Test with the Cooperative Primary Reading Test for grades 1 and 3. Another was the replacement of the Stanford Reading Test for grade 6 with the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills. The latter measures both reading skills (vocabulary and expression) and arithmetic skills (computation, concepts, and problem solving). The third major modification was in the senior high school, where grade 12 students were to be tested instead of those in grade 10. Here the Stanford Reading Test was replaced with the Iowa Test of Educational Progress, which measures, among other things, a student's reading comprehension and his or her "quantitative thinking," that is, ability to use arithmetic and mathematical principles to solve practical problems (SUSD, 1972a, p. 2). If we bear in mind then, that the same standardized tests have not been used every year, we can see on Table 4 the scoring differences between predominantly white schools and predominantly minority schools (especially predominantly

Table 4

A Comparison of the Number of White, Minority, and Black Schools Scoring At or Above District Level in the State-Mandated Reading and Math Tests, 1968-69 to 1972-73 School Years

(Figures in parentheses are the total number of schools in each group)

School Year	1st Grade Reading			3rd Grade Reading			6th Grade Reading			6th Grade Mathematics		
	White	Minority	Black	White	Minority	Black	White	Minority	Black	White	Minority	Black
68/69	10	3	2	12	1	1	15	1	0	14	1	0
	(18)	(14)	(10)	(18)	(14)	(10)	(18)	(13)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)
69/70	11	2	1	12	0	0	14	0	0	14	1	0
	(17)	(15)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)
70/71	13	8	4	14	0	0	14	2	2	14	3	1
	(17)	(15)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)
71/72	14	7	3	14	4	3	13	2	0	12	2	1
	(17)	(15)	(9)	(17)	(14)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)	(17)	(14)	(10)
72/73	13	7	4	13	2	2	11	0	0	11	0	0
	(16)	(14)	(8)	(16)	(13)	(8)	(16)	(13)	(9)	(16)	(13)	(9)

Source: Stockton Unified School District, Research Department Reports on the State Testing Results 1969b, 1970a, 1971c, 1972a, 1973.

black schools). The schools are compared on the basis of tests given by the district between the 1968-69 and the 1972-73 school years.

For the purpose of comparison the schools are divided into white schools (where whites constitute 50 percent or more of the student population), minority schools (schools with more than 50 percent minority students), and black schools (schools with 25 percent or more black students; usually these black schools also have sizeable numbers of nonblack minority children). A comparison among the three types of schools shows that whereas most white schools usually scored at or above the district average, most minority schools, especially black schools, usually scored below the district average. I might add that in a school by school comparison (which is not shown in Table 4) only one black school out of ten consistently scored at or above the district average on grade 1 reading tests for the entire five-year period. Five other black schools scored at or above the district average for two years, one black school for one year, and three black schools never reached the district average during the five-year period. Out of fifteen predominantly minority schools (which also include all the ten black schools) only the one school noted above consistently scored at or above the district average for the five-year period. One other minority school scored at or above the district average for four years, seven minority schools made a similar score for two years, and three schools for one year; and the three remaining minority schools never reached the district average at all. In contrast, nine of the eighteen predominantly white schools scored at or above the district average for the entire five-year period; four white schools scored at the district average for three out of the five years; three other white schools for two out of the five years, and only two white schools never reached the district average in the five-year period.

At grade 3 level the differences between black and white schools in reading achievement test scores widen. None of the ten black schools scored at or above the district average for more than two out of the five years. Only one black school reached the district average score in the grade 3 reading test in two years, three of the black schools did so in one year only, and the six remaining black schools never reached the district average in any year. The pattern of the score for all the minority schools is similar, with one minority school scoring at or above the district average for two years, six minority schools scoring at or above the district average for one year, and eight minority schools scoring below the district average during the five-year period. In contrast, twelve of the eighteen white schools scored at or above the district average during the five-year period, and only four white schools never reached the district average test score during the five-year period.

At grade 6 the gap between the black and white schools widens still further. On the reading test, nine of the ten black schools scored below the district average over the five-year period, and the one remaining school scored at the district average one year. Of the fourteen minority schools with grade 6 classes, eleven never reached the average score for the district during the five-year period; the three remaining minority schools reached that average for one year. On the other hand, nine of the eighteen white schools reached or surpassed the district average score in grade 6 reading during the five-year period, and only two white schools never reached the district average at all. The scores on the grade 6 mathematics test for the period showed much the same kind of gap between white and black schools. But the widest gap in school performance existed in senior high school. Here, the predominantly minority school, Edison, not only failed to score at or above the district average even once during the five-year test period; it consistently had an average test score in both reading and "quantitative thinking" that was *less than 50 percent of the average scores* of Stagg, the predominantly white high school.

Stockton schools are not entirely segregated by race and ethnicity. However, white and black students in the same schools do not perform alike. My own study of the classroom marks received by students in three predominantly minority schools—one elementary, one junior, and one senior high—serving more or less the same neighborhoods indicates that in such schools the average black student lags behind the average white (Ogbu, 1974). The marks received by black students in language and mathematics are lower, and they are disproportionately represented in "remedial" English and math courses.

The School Dropout Problem

In addition to their lower school performance on standardized tests and classroom work, black students tend to leave school much earlier than do white students.[10] Proportionally fewer black students than white students complete high school or receive adequate academic preparation in high school for continuing their education at the college level.

Stockton public schools have a long history of school dropout problems involving *all* ethnic groups, but the dropout problem has long been recognized as more serious among blacks than any other ethnic group. The first systematic study of the school dropout problem in Stockton after the Second World War found that although blacks constituted about 7 percent of the school population at the 7th and 8th grade levels in the 1947-48 school year, they represented only 1.6 percent of the school population at the 12th grade level (SUSD, 1948b, pp. 2-3).

A study of dropout rates among seven sets of high school graduating classes in the city from 1957 to 1963 was not tabulated by race and ethnic background. The data on the sets graduating in 1960, 1961, and 1962 were, however, broken down according to school and showed that most of the dropouts came from the two high schools with the largest minority enrollments, that is, Edison and Franklin (SUSD, 1963). An analysis of the school dropout problem by the City Planning Department using the 1970 federal census showed that among the 16- to 21-year-olds not in school, "nearly one-half (48.0%) of the young women and over one-third (39.4%) of the young men" had dropped out (City of Stockton, 1974, pp. 19-20). The proportion was higher among blacks and Mexican Americans, who constituted 33.5 percent of this age group of the city population. The disproportionate number of black school dropouts contributed to their lower

level of educational attainment as compared to the levels attained by whites in the population of Stockton (ibid., p. 73).

Like their lower performance in academic work generally, the higher dropout rate of blacks fits quite well with the low educational requirements of the marginal social and economic roles of blacks in the city. Since the early 1960's the school district has introduced a number of programs to increase the academic achievement and reduce the high rate of dropouts. These programs are a part of a national trend in black education and are in direct response to other changes tending to make the racial-caste system less rigid, especially changes in the political, social, and economic realms initiated through civil rights legislation and the attempts of the federal government to use education to solve the problems of poverty among all segments of American society.

Local Explanations of Lower Performance and High Dropout Rates

In the course of my fieldwork I probed into the reasons for the lower school performance of blacks: I interviewed representatives of various segments of the city's populations, listened to the views expressed in public debates and in private meetings on local educational problems, and read local documents.[11] The information gathered from all these sources does not indicate any general consensus in the community regarding the causes of black-white differences in school performance. I have chosen to focus on the official explanations, since they are the basis of various programs intended to close the gap between blacks and whites in school performance.

The most general explanation the school district offers is that of social class differences. This explanation is most explicitly stated in annual reports of the results of the state-required testing. The report for 1968 states, for instance, that in the results of the grade 6 testing there is a correlation between the average student test scores and the average income and median years of schooling completed by adults in the neighborhood where the school is located (SUSD, 1968b, p. 11). The report for 1970 (SUSD, 1970a, p. 8) not only reiterates this position but goes on to add that

> observation of test scores of all districts within the state substantiates that the socio-economic factor is highly related to test results. Furthermore, examination of the average range of school averages *within* the individual school districts statewide shows that the Stockton pattern is similar to that of other school districts.

These reports do not explicitly comment on the differences in test scores between predominantly minority and predominantly white schools. But the logic of the "social class theory" is implicitly extended to suggest that minority schools score lower than white schools because they are located in neighborhoods where the average family income and average level of adult education are lower.

Explanations of just how the background of the student population of these schools causes lower test scores are given in the annual reports of the school principals. For example, the report of the elementary school in the neighborhood I studied begins almost every year with a statement to the effect that most Mexican-Americans in the area had "migrated in the last 10 to 15 years to California from Texas, New Mexico, and Mexico;" that most blacks in the area had "migrated from the deep south, primarily Alabama and Arkansas" in the last 15 years; and that these Mexican-American and black immigrants "have preserved their basic attitudes, and their children and adults consequently have a low aspirational level with many personal prejudices" (SUSD, 1967b, p. 1). The report of the junior high school serving the same neighborhood gives a similar assessment of its students. It states that "the greatest problems are low level aspirations on the part of the students, with attendant implications in terms of poor attendance and low achievement" (SUSD, 1969, p. 14); parents are said to be uninterested in their children's education or in communicating with the school (ibid., p. 11).

In addition to the lower-class status and the rural backgrounds of the immigrants, the school district attributes the lower performance of the minorities to the following factors: minority schools contain a disproportionate number of non-English-speaking students; they have students who frequently move from school to school, who are frequently absent from school, and who come from families that have a tradition of failure in school. In general, there is a tendency to explain current school failures of minority students, of blacks in particular, in terms of "their home background" or "their home environment."

Some school personnel subscribe to the view, prevalent in the white community, that black children fail in school because blacks prefer to remain on welfare rather than succeed in school and get jobs to earn good wages. Some Stocktonians use the "welfare cycle" theory to explain the relative lack of school success among black and other minority students.[12]

Closing the School Performance Gap

A number of programs have been initiated in Stockton since the early part of the 1960's to improve the school performance of minority and other schildren from disadvantaged backgrounds. The programs fall into seven broad categories: volunteer programs, school-community relations, the hiring of minority school personnel, school integration, political control of the school system, bilingual-bicultural education, and compensatory education. The effect of some of these programs on the school performance of black and other disadvantaged children cannot be directly measured with standardized tests, but they are intended to contribute to the general improvement of children's school performance. I will describe such programs only briefly, and will devote a good portion of the present section to the compensatory education program in Stockton, which has operated for a much longer time than the other programs and whose stated objective is to raise the academic achievement of black students and other disadvantaged students to the level of their white middle-class peers.

1. The first of the seven school-improvement programs is the volunteer program, which operates at the initiative of individual schools. Most of its recruits are whites from local colleges as well as from high schools in North Stockton, members of middle-class white churches and secular organiza-

tions, and lay individuals interested in working with children from minority and low-income backgrounds. Some of the volunteers tutor the children or work as "Big Brothers" and "Big Sisters" or assist teachers in the classroom. A few years ago one elementary school developed a program in which middle-class families "adopted" the families of its students. The school reasoned that this process would help the children in the adopted families to develop better attitudes about themselves and about their chances of succeeding in school and later in life.

2. Local efforts in the War on Poverty offered a number of schools in predominantly minority and low-income neighborhoods the opportunity to improve their relationship with the residents of such areas. In some cases the school staff assisted the residents in planning their neighborhood centers and programs, joined the newly formed neighborhood improvement associations, and permitted these associations to use the school facilities for their activities. The residents usually reciprocated by giving more support to the educational programs initiated by the schools.

3. Another area of change affecting blacks and other minorities concerned the composition of school district personnel. The number of blacks and other minorities in different capacities in the school system was quite small prior to 1965.[13] But beginning in 1965 with the acquisition of ESEA Title I funds the district made some serious efforts to recruit more black and other minority staff members.[14] Today the number of minority group members in various capacities has increased, a situation which probably encourages minority-group students to think that they have equal opportunity with their white peers for careers within the school system.

4. and 5. In the mid-1960's Stockton became as civil rights-minded as other northern cities. Stocktonians not only elected a black school board member but in 1966 they also proceeded to hire an integration-minded school superintendent. The school district thereupon set up a study committee to consider plans for racially integrating its schools. But by 1969, the mood of Stocktonians, like that of the rest of the nation, had turned against integration. Whites organized opposition to "forced busing" and for "neighborhood schools." By a vote of 4 to 1 the school board turned down the superintendent's proposal for school integration. Since integration had lost favor with many Stocktonians, some people decided that the solution to the problem of local minority education, especially in South Stockton, required a new kind of political strategy, namely, electing board of education members on a ward basis. Prior to 1970 only two members of minority background had ever served on the school board: a black member elected in 1965, and a Mexican-American member appointed in the fall of 1968 to fill a vacant seat. In the course of time these minority members became less and less successful in representing the perceived interests of the minority population and the people of South Stockton in general because their election to the board was largely determined by the white community.

Consequently, early in 1970 the people of South Stockton formed a new organization called PEOPLE (Positive Educational Opportunity Provides Lasting Equality) to change the governance of the school system. PEOPLE began by successfully leading a campaign to defeat a vital school bond in 1971.[15] Then it initiated a successful charter amendment to enlarge the school board from five to seven members and to elect the members on a district or ward, rather than city-wide, basis. This gave South Stockton residents more direct representation on the school board, since hitherto minority members of the board, like their white counterparts, had resided in North Stockton. Two members of PEOPLE were subsequently elected to the enlarged school board in 1972, which now consisted of more or less moderate whites (4) and minority-group members (3).

The majority of the new board favored school integration, but preferred to let the federal courts decide the issue because a suit for the integration of the schools had already been filed before the new board was elected. The new board made some changes in the school administration, including replacing the school superintendent who had been hired by the former anti-integration board.[16] In 1975 Stockton began to integrate its schools under a court order. It is perhaps too early to assess the extent to which these changes have affected the school performance of minority and South Stockton students.

6. Bilingual education is one of two programs that have been initiated at the district level with federal funds, with the expressed objective of raising the level of academic achievement of minority-group children. The other program is compensatory education.

The bilingual-bicultural education program was started in the 1968-69 school year to assist Mexican-American students, although blacks and other students in the bilingual schools also participated in the program. Recently it has been expanded to include Cantonese-speaking Chinese and Tagalog-speaking Filipinos. The primary objective of the bilingual education program is to improve the school performance of non-English-speaking students, especially in such vital school subjects as language, mathematics, and science.

Annual evaluation studies of the bilingual-bicultural program thus far give very little evidence that the students in the program have improved their performance on standardized tests (SUSD, 1971a).

7. Compensatory education in Stockton dates back to 1963, when the school district started a remedial education program using funds from the state as well as local funds. However, the major thrust in the compensatory educational approach began in 1965 with Title I funds. Certain students are selected to participate in the program because they come from families of low income, but blacks and Mexican-Americans always constitute most of these students. The primary goal of the compensatory program in Stockton, as elsewhere, is to improve the school performance of the participating children so that they will eventually perform at the same level as their white middle-class peers. The reason given for instituting the program is that these students in the selected schools are well below other students in their school performance. And every year the application for funds to continue the program states how much improvement in school performance, as measured by standardized tests of language

skills, reading, and mathematical skills, the participating students are expected to achieve at the end of the program. The major emphasis in the elementary school program is on improving reading skills, whereas that in the secondary school emphasizes improving skills in mathematics (SUSD, 1971b, p. viii).

To what extent has compensatory education in Stockton been successful in bringing the school performance of the children in Title I schools closer to that of their white middle-class peers? Local supporters of the program say that it is successful in achieving many of its ancillary goals, such as improvement in the attitudes of the students toward themselves and toward school. Their school attendance records, according to annual evaluation studies, have improved; the students have benefited from the nutritional and health services offered by the program; parents are now not only more involved in making decisions about the program but have become quite politicized; and teachers have through special training, become more aware of the needs of the students in Title I schools and now know more about compensatory education and what it is supposed to do than they did in 1968.

But key questions in the assessment of the program remain: *To what extent has the compensatory education program in Stockton succeeded in narrowing the gap in school performance between students in the Title I schools and their white middle-class peers? Furthermore, to what extent has the program succeeded in raising the academic achievement of students in the program above that of other students with similar background in schools without Title I programs? Are students in Title I schools learning more?*

The compensatory education program in Stockton does not seem to have significantly improved the school performance of children in Title I schools relative to their white-middle-class peers. The achievement test scores of all the elementary schools in the district for grades 1, 3, and 6 over a five-year period were discussed earlier (see Table 4). The results of these tests show no significant trend toward convergence in performance of the Title I schools and the predominantly white middle-class schools. Furthermore, when compared with other predominantly minority schools without Title I programs, the Title I schools more frequently score below the district average (see Table 5).[17]

The results of the tests specifically given for the annual evaluation studies also reveal the relative ineffectiveness of the compensatory education program. The results of the reading and math tests given to children in the program in the springs of 1970, 1971, and 1972 as a part of the yearly evaluations provide a strong support of this view. The 1969-70 school year represented a turning point in the program because it was consolidated that year in five elementary schools as "a saturation program in which all students enrolled in the schools were included and received all the services available through the program" (SUSD, 1971b, p. ix, xxvii). But even this consolidation did not significantly increase the effectiveness of the program.

The thrust of local school evaluation of the program has usually been to determine how far the students in the program have improved their performance on standardized tests at the end of the program. This is done by comparing their test scores at the beginning (pre-test) and at the end of the program (post-test). Such a comparison usually shows that test scores at the end of the program are higher than those at the beginning, and the success of the program is measured in terms of the relative size of this difference in the two test scores. But this proves very little in terms of the effectiveness of the program because any group of children tested at the beginning of a school year should, if taught at all, score higher when tested again at the end of the school year.

The crucial question is not whether the students in the compensatory education program scored higher at the end of the program than they did at the beginning. The question is: Do students completing the compensatory education program score significantly higher than their peers with similar background who did not participate in the program? If this test is applied to Table 5, which compares the test scores of Title I schools with those of non-Title I schools in reading and mathematics over a five-year period, it is clear that there is no consistent sign of superiority in the Title I schools. The table suggests no conclusive evidence that Title I students are superior to non-Title I students in reading or mathematics

Table 5

Number of Predominantly Minority (Black) Title I Schools (N=5) and Number of Predominantly Minority (Black) Non-Title I Schools (N=5) Scoring at District Average in State-Required Tests from 1968-69 to 1972-73 School Years

No. of Times Schools Score at District Average	NO. OF TITLE I SCHOOLS				NO. OF NON-TITLE I SCHOOLS			
	Reading			Math	Reading			Math
	1st	3rd	6th	6th	1st	3rd	6th	6th
0	1	4	5	4	1	2	4	4
1	3	1	–	1	0	2	1	1
2	1	–	–	–	3	1	–	–
3		–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4		–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5		–	–		1	–	–	–
Total number of schools	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5

Source: Stockton Unified School District, Research Department Reports on the State Testing Results, 1969b, 1970a, 1971c, 1972a, 1973.

in the five years of concentrated compensatory education treatment. One Title I school, King School, which has maintained relatively high level scores except for the first-grade reading test in 1971-72, is different from the rest of the Title I schools in one important respect. Many white middle-class students are bused to this school from North Stockton in order to meet the state requirement that this particular school should be racially balanced.

The Stockton school district has known for some time that the remedial compensatory education program is relatively ineffective in closing the academic achievement gap between students in Title I schools and their white middle-class peers. The district appears to have responded to this failure by seeking to modify the program beginning in the 1969-70 school year, including the consolidation of the program in five elementary schools. But these modifications did not significantly increase its effectiveness.

Another response of the district has been to argue that the remedial compensatory education approach at the school level may not solve the problems of minority students and students from low-income families because the programs are already too late. What is needed, the argument goes, is a preschool intervention program which begins almost at birth. Thus the school district designed a program in 1968 called *Happy Birthday* (SUSD, 1968c, 1968d). Basically, the Happy Birthday project was intended to train black mothers and other mothers in South Stockton to raise their children like white middle-class parents to enable them to succeed in school. It was proposed that mothers be taught how to socialize their children so that they would develop the cognitive and motivational skills that the school district considered essential for academic success.

The Happy Birthday project differed from Head Start and similar preschool projects because it was intended to train parents who would in turn train their own children. Existing Head Start and other preschool programs usually attempt the resocialization of the children by experts or trained workers, although parents may be encouraged to continue some of the training in the home. Though the Happy Birthday program was not instituted, Stockton has operated several other preschool programs since 1965. However, they have apparently not solved the problem of lower black school performance.

No one will deny that these programs have had *some* positive effects on black students. The elimination of tracking, for example, has shown that some lagging students do better if they are allowed to take more intellectually challenging courses (Ogbu, 1974, p. 200). Nevertheless, these programs have not altered the basic pattern of black school performance. In fact, given the basic assumptions underlying the remedial programs, especially compensatory education, it is very doubtful that they can succeed in eliminating black school failure. Compensatory education at both preschool and school levels not only ignores the structural basis of black school failure, but also assumes that the school failure is caused by developmental deficits in essential skills that result from inadequate socialization (Bloom, Davis & Hess, 1965). Compensatory programs further assume that in order to improve school performance, in order to achieve a white middle-class type of school success, black children primarily require some kind of personality change or rehabilitation. But the rehabilitation strategy does not work in a system of racial caste. In spite of our wishes and dreams, it is not easy to eliminate an adaptation to a castelike stratification while the stratification itself persists. Rather, subordinate racial castes like black Americans will develop new forms of educational adaptation, one similar to the present educational adaptation of white Americans, for example, as the caste barriers break down to permit their greater political, social, and economic participation in the adult life of their society on the basis of individual ability and training.

The Job Ceiling and Problems of Language, Cognitive Skills, Motivation, and Peer Pressures

In describing the situation in Stockton I have not dealt specifically with the problems of language, cognitive skills, motivation, and peer pressures that social scientists often say are the main causes of black school failure. The reason is that my main objective has been to suggest how the social structural framework can be used to examine the linkage between education and the job and role ceiling, thus enabling us to view minority educational problems in a new way. I now want to suggest that the study of language, cognitive, motivational, and peer-group problems in minority education involves another but related linkage: that between job and role ceiling on the one hand and these factors on the other. Given the low educational requirements of black political, social, and economic roles in the local racial caste system, many factors emerge to ensure that blacks acquire the appropriate qualities, including type and levels of formal education, that they need for such roles, and that they do not acquire those qualities more appropriate for the higher roles of whites. These factors include those I have described above, namely, unequal access to good education, subtle mechanisms that promote inferior school performance and early school leaving, and the response of blacks to schooling. Language, cognitive, and motivational differences as well as peer pressures and patterns of teacher-pupil classroom interaction are other factors contributing to produce the low education required by the black subordinate roles. Like the first set of factors, these latter are also the direct products of the structural barriers between blacks and whites, especially the subordinate roles of blacks.

I have argued elsewhere (Ogbu, in press) that the black English dialect probably evolved and has persisted as a result of racial caste barriers to communicative interaction and to black participation in roles requiring a white middle-class type of language use. In the classrooms the dialect differences are compounded by socio-linguistic factors, and both result in communication difficulties between teacher and pupils (Gumperz & Gumperz, 1976; Hymes, 1971; Simons, 1976). The communication interaction pattern encourages school failure for the same reason as the teacher's evaluation system described earlier: black children fail to achieve the same level of reading proficiency as their white peers because their subordinate roles have not traditionally required a high level of reading proficiency, nor has American society traditionally rewarded blacks for achieving such a level.

The problem of cognitive differences is also social-structural rather than genetic or cultural. Patterns of cognitive skills are developed in response to the cognitive requirements of a given environment, including the economic environment. Where groups like black Americans are restricted to menial roles, they develop the types of cognitive skills required for competence in such roles; but they are capable of developing other types of cognitive skills if the situation is changed. Until recently, the cognitive patterns that blacks developed in response to the cognitive requirements of their subordinate roles were also congruent with their inferior education. They became an educational "problem" (a) when tests designed to measure the white cognitive skills (developed in response to the cognitive requirements of the superior roles of whites) were also used to measure those of blacks as the basis for instruction, and (b) when, as a result of the school desegregation orders of the 1950's and of the educational reforms of the 1960's, attempts were made to give blacks and whites the same type of education, generally the white middle-class type of education. Judging from what we have learned from cross-cultural studies of cognition (Berry & Dasen, 1974; Cole & Scribner, 1973, 1974; Greenfield, 1966; LeVine, 1970), I would suggest that the sustained participation of blacks in the same quality of education and in similar social, political, and economic roles as whites will result eventually in a type of cognitive convergence.

How blacks perceive the social structural barriers against them also affects the way they perceive their schooling, and these perceptions, in turn, are inseparable from the problem of motivation in the classroom. Katz (1967, p. 141) is right when he says that the motivational problem is that black children do not persevere like their white middle-class peers in their academic work; but he errs when he explains the difference in perseverance in terms of differences in socialization experiences. Rather, differences in expectations for future roles and in the rewards for educational efforts, and differences in the strategies for achieving these roles and rewards that are based on actual experiences of adult members of the two racial castes, and transmitted to children, are largely responsible for the nonpersevering academic effort of blacks. In adult life blacks often have to resort to compliant and subservient behavior in order to "make it." These and related forms of behavior tend to replace white middle-class types of behavior in the classroom because they are adaptive for black adult roles under the racial caste system.

The pull of peer groups from academic efforts (McDermott, 1974; Ogbu, 1974) is also compatible with the low educational requirements of the subordinate roles of castelike minorities. It is conceivable that under a different circumstance the influence of peer groups would be in the opposite direction, at least to some degree. Similarly, teacher-pupil classroom interaction patterns produce school failure rather than school success only when low education is required by the future adult roles of the pupils. It is not likely that a failure-producing interaction pattern would persist over a long period of time if a society required its schools to produce highly educated role-players.

Conclusion

The central thesis of this essay is that the subordinate status occupied by blacks because of *racial stratification* requires and promotes lower school performance or school failure and therefore that the school failure is a kind of adaptation. The lower school performance requirement of the blacks' subordinate position is met through the phenomenon of job and role ceiling, which restricts blacks to low-status social, economic, and other roles in adult life that require neither high-quality education nor long periods of schooling.

In order to understand fully how the school failure adaptation emerged and why and how it persists we need to study two kinds of linkages in the educational process. The first is the linkage between, on the one hand, the job and role ceiling and on the other the policies and practices of the school system, what the subordinate group members believe about their opportunities in society, how they perceive their schooling in relation to their belief system, and how their perceptions and beliefs are related to their efforts in school. The second linkage is that between the job and role ceiling on the one hand and the problems of language, cognition (or cognitive skills), motivation, and peer-group pressures on the other. In this essay I have dealt primarily with the first type of linkage but have suggested that the second is a potential area of study.

I have tried to show how the first kind of linkage works and contributes to black school failure in one community, Stockton, California, which I studied mainly between 1968 and 1970. At least up to the time of my study, the job and role ceiling severely limited the participation of local blacks in the labor market, their ability to earn adequate wages and to live in the neighborhoods of their choice, their civic participation, and other rights and obligations that are associated with adult status in the local community. These limitations affected the educational preparation of black children for their future adult roles, and their educational preparation generally complemented the job and role ceiling. Some school policies and practices, such as those involving testing, classification and tracking, counseling, parent-teacher relationship, and the reward system in the classroom did little to encourage black children to do well or to stay longer in school to prepare themselves for higher-status social and economic roles when they became adults.

For their part, blacks said that they desired education as much as whites, but they also pointed out that because of racial stratification education did not guarantee them equal chances with whites to participate in the social, economic, and political life of their community. They had learned over many generations that other strategies, such as playing "Uncle Toms" to win white sponsorship and boycotts and legal suits to force white-controlled business and public agencies to hire them in jobs for which they were qualified were often more effective than mere educational qualification for achieving greater social and economic participation. Black children learned quite early in life about the position of blacks in the local stratification system and the restrictions, beliefs, and attitudes that it generated, all of which combined to discourage them from maximizing their academic efforts.

Since the 1960's the local school authorities have introduced a number of programs to encourage better school performance among blacks and similar minority groups. However, these programs have proved relatively ineffective in reducing school failure. The reason for the apparent failure of the programs appears to be that they were designed and implemented with no serious consideration given to the social structural forces affecting black education.

Elsewhere (Ogbu, in press) I have tried to show that the situation described here for Stockton is not unique but can be found nationwide. I have also suggested that the social structural framework used in the present essay can be fruitfully applied to the study of the educational problems of similar minority groups in the United States, including American Indians, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Native Hawaiians. And it can be used to study the educational problems of similar minority groups in other societies, such as the scheduled castes in India, the Oriental Jews in Israel, the Buraku outcastes in Japan, the Maori of New Zealand, and the colored immigrants, especially the West Indians, in the United Kingdom. Not all these are "racial minorities" subordinated under "racial stratification." What they have in common is that each occupies a subordinate place in a stratification system that is not based on social class and that severely limits the social and economic participation of subordinate-position members in adult life.

To conclude, I wish to reiterate the point I made at the beginning of the essay, namely, that the study of minority education should be an aspect of the study of the social structural position of that minority group and how its position influences and is influenced by the educational preparation of its children. Regardless of what we would like formal education to be or do, the undeniable fact of life is that in contemporary industrial societies like the United States, formal education is a preparation of children for future social and economic participation in adult life. This being the case, we need to pay more attention to the nature of adult participation and the type of competence or personal qualities required for such participation that education is intended to produce in the children. This is particularly true when we study the education of subordinate minorities whose marginal participation in the social, economic, and other realms of their society may require and encourage *different and marginal* competence and educational preparation.

Notes

1. I am using the concept of "caste" here in its special analytic sense to mean a more or less closed stratum in a social stratification system whose membership is acquired at birth rather than by choice or personal efforts during the lifetime of an individual. The members of such a closed stratum are usually characterized by high status summation, a term which will be defined later in the text. While endogamy is the usual mode of recruiting members of a caste group, the latter is, strictly speaking, not defined by endogamy; what is more important in defining a caste group is the existence of an *explicit rule or rules of descent*, specifying to which group children born to a "mixed couple" should belong (see Berreman, 1967, pp. 279-280). In the United States the explicit rule is that all children known to be offspring of marriage or other forms of mating between blacks and whites should affiliate with blacks. It is in this analytic sense that I refer to blacks as a caste group or, more appropriately, a racial caste, and to black-white stratification as a stratification of racial castes.
2. As used in this essay, the concept of status refers to a position the individual occupies in society or a segment of it that qualifies him for the social, economic, political, and other rights and obligations attached to such positions. Adult status means, therefore, the position occupied by members of a society who are sidered qualified for the rights and obligations or roles of adulthood. Adult status and — in particular — the rights and obligations associated with it are culturally defined and may be different in different societies. In the United States the rights and obligations associated with male adulthood or adult status include holding a job, earning a living, owning or renting a place to live, political participation as an elector and/or in appointive or elective office, and so on. In a stratified society adult status varies from one group to another and is usually hierarchically organized to reflect the rank order of the component groups. As a result, the social, economic, political, and other rights and obligations associated with adult status of members of the stratified groups are essentially unequal.
3. The term *job ceiling* describes three aspects of black employment experiences outside the segregated black community and public institutions serving blacks exclusively, that is, it refers to characteristics of the wider American economy dominated by the white caste. The term means (a) that blacks are not permitted to *compete freely as individuals* for any types of jobs to which they aspire and for which they have the training and ability; (b) that blacks are excluded from certain highly desirable occupations or are not permitted to obtain their proportionate share of such occupations solely because they are black, rather than because they lack the training and ability; and (c) that as a result of the above conditions blacks are confined largely to the least desirable occupations in the wider society.

   Under the job ceiling, various occupations can be divided into two broad categories, those above the job ceiling and those below it. Occupations above the job ceiling in Stockton and elsewhere in the U.S. comprise the four top occupational categories, namely, (a) professional/technical; (b) managers, officials, and proprietors; (c) clerical, sales, and kindred workers; and (d) skilled craftsmen and foremen. In the American cultural idiom these are the most desirable occupations in terms of education, income, social prestige, and the like. Occupations below the job ceiling include the following: (e) semiskilled operative workers; (f) personal and domestic service workers; (g) common laborers; and (h) farm laborers. These are the least desirable occupations in terms of wages, education, and the like.

   The occupational allocations of the American caste system distinguish between these two broad occupational categories: those above the job ceiling, which may be called "white jobs," and those below it, which may be called "black jobs." In other words, blacks have traditionally been underrepresented in the jobs above the job ceiling and overrepresented in those below it.
4. There were 31 "free" blacks included in the population census of San Joaquin County that listed about 4081 persons in 1850. By 1890 there were 299 blacks among the city's population of about 14,424. In 1940 black population was only 875 of the city's 54,754 total, but rose to 11,824 by 1970, when the total population of the city was 107,644.
5. In many societies the transition from adolescent to adult status

receives public recognition through the institution of the *rite-of-passage* (Van Gennep, 1959). In modern industrial societies like the United States, the *rite-of-passage* takes the form of school graduation. The level of schooling at which graduation serves as the *rite-of-passage* to adult status has been increasing since the turn of the century primarily in response to the changing demands of the industrial economy for longer periods of schooling for its labor force. At the moment it is high school graduation that certifies individuals as adults in these societies. From the points of view of both society and the individual, the high school diploma is now a prerequisite for the assumption of adult social, economic, and political roles, especially for entry into the labor force; it is also a prerequisite for continuing formal education at higher or special institutions to prepare for higher and often specialized adult roles in the labor force.

6. Stockton Unified School District will be designated as SUSD in future references.

7. In the elementary school the students are given the Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Tests; in junior high they are given both the Otis Beta Quick Scoring Battery Test and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. The same tests (of appropriate levels) are given in senior high school, plus additional ones.

8. Demands to correct biased textbooks and curriculum were also made by Mexican-American organizations, such as Mexican Americans United for Action (SUSD, Minutes, Board of Education, 1968c, pp. 4428-4430), and Council for the Spanish-Speaking Peoples (SUSD, Minutes, Board of Education, 1969c, pp. 4623).

9. My analysis here of the black response to schooling appears to contradict the well-known fact that as a group blacks have high educational aspirations and tend to put faith in education as a means of solving some of their socioeconomic problems, and that they vote more strongly in favor of school bonds intended to improve education and use the courts and other channels to ensure that their children have better access to quality education. These favorable attitudes and behaviors toward education also exist among local blacks in Stockton. But they co-exist alongside the attitudes and beliefs that the same educational credentials do not necessarily bring equal rewards in terms of jobs, income, and so on to blacks and whites. Discussions with black parents, students, and community leaders during my research showed an underlying disillusionment with the value of schooling so long as the social structural barriers to post-school opportunities remained. This apparent co-existence of high educational aspirations and support for education and high disillusionment about the real worth of educational striving has been documented in a number of studies in various times and various parts of the country (see Davis, Gardner, & Gardner, 1965, pp. 252-255; Dollard, 1957, p. 202; Drake & Cayton, 1970, p. 255, 287; Frazier, 1940, pp. 134-159; Ogbu, 1974; Powdermaker, 1968, p. 321; Schultz, 1969, pp. 159-160). My observations and interviews in Stockton lead me to suggest that many local black parents transmit to their children two contradictory values — those stressing the importance of education as a means of advancing the fortunes of the individual as well as of the race and those stressing the inequality of rewards in post-school life because of racial stratification. It is partly because parents themselves are ambivalent about the worth of schooling that they do not stress for their children the learning of those behavioral skills that promote school success, which many of them themselves for the same reasons never learned. Nor do the schools teach such skills to black children. I would also suggest that as black children get older they develop the same kind of ambivalent attitudes toward schooling and are further hindered from working hard in school. Finally, I suggest that since blacks spend a great deal of their collective time, thoughts, and efforts trying to break down the job ceiling and other barriers against them *and* trying to develop alternative strategies for self-improvement, they are further limited as to the amount of time, thoughts, and efforts that they can invest in developing the skills for academic striving and success.

10. State law does not permit youths to leave school before the age of 16, and most of those who drop out of school in Stockton do so after reaching the legal age of 16. The status of legal dropout is ascribed to youths in a number of ways. First and foremost, there are those who are some grades behind their age-mates because they were slow learners and repeated grades or because they were incarcerated for juvenile delinquency for relatively long periods of time. Other students fall further behind in their lessons when they are sent to the Continuation School, maintained by the school district for students of all grades whose behavior is considered disruptive to normal classroom learning. In 1968-69 Continuation School students attended school only half-days. My apartment happened at that time to be located on the same block as the Continuation School, and I was able to observe that many of the students rarely stayed in the classrooms but often loitered about in the streets and on the school grounds during their school hours. The slow learners, the incarcerated students, and the Continuation students often become less and less interested in school and fall further and further behind. When they attain the legal age, the school is only too glad to be relieved of them, and the youths are glad to be rid of the guardianship of the schools.

    The school also tries to keep two other kinds of potential dropouts until they reach legal age. One group consists of students who for a variety of reasons are no longer interested in school but are not considered a problem in terms of behavior in the classroom. Alternative programs may be provided for such students, including vocational education and work experience. The latter affords the students the opportunity to earn some money to meet financial needs which may have contributed to their disinterest in academic work. The final group of students consists of pregnant girls. Before 1968 they were usually given a few hours of home instruction a week. At the time of my fieldwork the school district had begun to organize regular classes for pregnant teenagers in a church building. Thus while the dropout rate is relatively high, most of it is legal in that the students leave mainly after reaching the legal age, but without a standard high school diploma. Theoretically the youths can complete high school equivalency programs to receive the standard high school diploma while participating in the Continuation, Vocational, and Home Instruction programs; but apparently few do.

11. Official documents bearing on the subject include annual reports of school principals (SUSD, 1967b, 1968a, 1969a); proposals for compensatory education and other federal- and state-funded programs (SUSD, 1968c, 1971a); reports on state tests (SUSD, 1969b, 1971b); and proposals for school integration (SUSD, 1969c). Unofficial documents dealing with the causes of the poorer performance of minority students include Larsen's study (1961) of a group of Edison Senior High students who were failing their classes; a position paper on Stockton school integration prepared by the staff of South Stockton Parish, a report of a coalition of a number of protestant and catholic churches inter-

ested in the educational and other problems of south Stockton residents (Stegall, Fong, Litherland, Sato, & Irvin, 1968); and petitions dealing with alleged inequities in the schools submitted to the School Board by representatives of various minority groups (SUSD, Minutes, Board of Education, 1968b, 1968c, 1969b, 1969c).

12. By the "welfare cycle" theory is meant the idea that parents on welfare are not able to raise their children to be self-supporting as adults. Consequently, the latter also become welfare recipients who, in turn, raise their own children to be welfare recipients (see Ogbu, 1974, pp. 182-191).

13. Exact figures for total minority employment were not made public before 1967. But a study of the district's employment of certificated personnel between 1947 and 1962 provides some basis for a comparison with later periods. The study (Sandelius, 1963, p. 90) showed that in 1962, 104 out of 1108 elementary and secondary (including grades 13 and 14) teachers, or 9.39 percent, were of minority background. Among these were 44 blacks, who constituted 3.37 percent of the teaching staff. The proportion of minority teachers increased to 13.33 percent in 1967 (208 out of 1559), 19.44 percent in 1970 (317 out of 1631), and 20 percent in 1972 (292 out of 1460). The proportions of blacks in the teaching staff during the same period were 6.09 percent (95 teachers in 1967), 8.65 percent (141 teachers in 1970), and 8.56 percent (125 teachers in 1972). In 1962 only 5 out of 71 administrative positions were held by minorities, two of whom were black. I do not have data on the ethnic and racial distribution of administrative positions for the period 1967 to 1972.

    It is in the classified personnel segment (such as clerical workers, janitors, and the like) that minorities have made more numerical gains, although not necessarily at high levels of these jobs. There are no figures for ethnic or racial distribution of the classified personnel before 1967. But the minorities share of these jobs has increased from 33.59 percent in 1967 to 40.7 percent in 1970 and 45.31 percent in 1972. The figures for blacks during the same period were 15.09 percent, 17.29 percent, and 18.49 percent for 1967, 1970, and 1972 respectively (SUSD, 1967a, 1970b, and 1972b).

14. ESEA is the Elementary and Secondary Education Act passed by the United States Congress in 1965 and administered by the U.S. Office of Education. Title I of this legislation empowered the federal government to provide funds to local school districts according to the number of children from low-income families that they served to enable them to provide additional educational services needed by such children.

15. There was a strong feeling among South Stockton residents in 1971 that the predominantly affluent middle-class Anglo whites who resided in North and West Stockton were taking advantage of them. South Stockton residents pointed out that no one from South Stockton had been elected or appointed to the school board for 20 years, and they further alleged that the policies of the school board were often in conflict with the interests of South Stockton. As an example they cited the determination of the school board to implement the recommendations of the Westinghouse Learning Corporation study on the reorganization of Stockton schools, including the location of new schools to be built between 1971 and 1975. They said that the Westinghouse recommendations favored preserving the traditional neighborhood schools, which perpetuated racial, ethnic, and class segregation, and that they completely ignored the issue of school integration, which had been debated in the city since 1966. Therefore, South Stockton residents, particularly PEOPLE, who wanted to see the schools integrated opposed the Westinghouse recommendations. The fact that the bond issue to raise money for new schools had to be put to popular vote provided PEOPLE with an opportunity to express effectively their opposition to the policies of the school board. This they did by campaigning against the school bond, which failed to pass because of their opposition as well as that of other groups in the community (*Stockton Record*, April 29, 1971, p.4).

16. One major feature of the governance of Stockton schools has been the absence of a consistent policy on school integration. This lack of a consistent policy showed itself in the hiring and firing of school superintendents between 1966 and 1973. In 1966 a pro-integration school board hired an integration-minded superintendent. In 1969 he was dismissed when an anti-integration board was elected. Then the superintendent hired by the anti-integration board was dismissed in 1973 when a new board with a different policy assumed power.

17. Another way to assess the results in minority schools is to compare the 1969 test scores of students in these schools with the test scores of students in the same schools before 1969. Unfortunately it is not easy to compare the 1969 scores with those of prior years. The test scores were made public in 1968, at which time they were given as percentile scores. In subsequent years they were given as grade level equivalents. The difference is that a percentile score indicates the percentage of a distribution that is equal to or below that score; a grade level equivalent score, on the other hand, is the average score (of all the students in a given grade or in a given school) relative to the real or estimated average score of all students in the same grade.

    Using the grade level equivalent scale we can compare the performance of children in grades 1, 3, and 6 *in the same schools* over a four-year period from 1969-70. The result of this comparison, summarized here, is not obvious from any of the tables in the text but is arrived at from a school-by-school comparison. The comparison shows that in the 1970-71, 1971-72, and 1972-73 school years the children in many black schools and many white schools scored higher than their peers had done in 1969-70, even though children in black schools were in any given year substantially below their white peers. In other words, although the gap in performance between blacks and whites was not closing substantially, both black and white students in these three grades were doing better than members of their own groups who took the test in 1969-70.

References

Ackerman, Walter. "Reforming Israeli Education." In Michael Curtis and Mordecai Chertoff, eds. *Israel: Social Structure and Change*, pp. 397-401. New Brunswick, N.J.: Dutton, 1973.

Adams, Arvil V. *Toward Fair Employment and the EEOC: A Study of Compliance Procedures Under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: A Report*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Ashenfelter, Orley, and Albert Rees, eds. *Discrimination in Labor Markets*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973.

Baratz, Stephen S., and Joan C. Baratz. "Early Childhood Intervention: The Social Science Base of Institutional Racism." *Harvard Educational Review* 40 (1970):29-50.

Bentwich, Joseph Solomon. *Education in Israel*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965.

Berreman, Gerald D. "Caste in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Organizational Components." In George DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, eds. *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.

_____. "Race, Caste, and Other Invidious Distinctions in Social Stratification." *Race* 23 (1972):4.

Berry, J.W., and P.R. Dasen, eds. *Culture and Cognition: Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology*. London: Methuen, 1974.

Best, Eric. "NAACP Charges Bias by Stockton in Hiring." *Stockton Record*, January 18, 1977, p. 1.

Bloom, Benjamin S.; Allison Davis; and Robert D. Hess. *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1965.

Bond, Horace Mann. *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.

_____. *Negro Education in Alabama: A Study in Cotton and Steel*. New York: Atheneum, 1969.

Buckey, Richard M. *Racial Discrimination and Public Policy in the United States*. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1971.

Bullock, Henry Allen. *A History of Negro Education in the South: From 1619 to the Present*. New York: Praeger, 1970.

California, State of. *City of Stockton: Affirmative Action Survey*. Unpublished manuscript, California Fair Employment Practices Commission, 1972.

Clark, Kenneth B. *A Possible Reality: A Design for the Attainment of High Academic Achievement for Inner-City Students*. New York: Marc Corporation, 1972.

Cole, Michael, and Sylvia Scribner. "Cognitive Consequences of Formal and Informal Education." *Science* 182(1973):553-559.

_____. *Culture and Thought: A Psychological Introduction*. New York: John Wiley, 1974.

Coleman, James S. *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Davis, Allison; Burleigh B. Gardner; and Mary R. Gardner. *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class*. Abridged Edition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965.

Deutsch, Martin, and Associates. *The Disadvantaged Child*. New York: Basic Books, 1967.

DeVos, George A., and Hiroshi Wagatsuma, eds. *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*. Berkeley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1967.

Dollard, John. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*. 3rd edition. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957.

Drake, St. Clair and Horace R. Cayton. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, vols. 1 & 2. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1970.

Farmer, James. "Stereotypes of the Negro and Their Relationship to His Self-Image." In Herbert C. Rudman and Richard L. Featherstone, eds., *Urban Schooling*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1968.

Ferman, Louis A.; Joyce L. Kornbluh; and J.A. Miller, eds. *Negroes and Jobs: A Book of Readings*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968.

Frazier, E. Franklin. *Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

Garrett, H.E. *Heredity: The Cause of Racial Differences in Intelligence*. Kilmarnock, Va.: Patrick Henry Press, 1971.

Gould, William B. *Black Workers in White Unions: Job Discrimination in the United States*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Greenfield, Patricia M. "On Culture and Conservation." In Jerome S. Bruner; Rose R. Oliver; and Patricia M. Greenfield, eds., *Studies in Cognitive Growth*, pp. 225-256. New York: John Wiley, 1966.

Gumperz, John J., and Jenny C. Gumperz. *The Communicative Basis of Language Problems in Education*. Unpublished manuscript, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1976.

Henderson, Vivian W. "Regions, Race, and Jobs." In Arthur M. Ross, and Herbert Hill, eds., *Employment, Race, and Poverty: A Critical Study of the Disadvantaged Status of Negro Workers from 1865 to 1965*, pp.76-104. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.

Huff, Sheila. "Credentialling by Tests or by Degrees: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and Griggs v. Duke Power Company." *Harvard Educational Review* 44(1974):246-269.

Hunt, J. McV. *The Challenge of Incompetence and Poverty: Papers on the Role of Early Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969.

Hymes, Dell. "On Linguistic Theory, Communicative Competence and the Education of Disadvantaged Children." In Murray L. Wax; Stanley Diamond; and Fred O. Gearing, eds., *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*, pp. 51-66. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

Inkeles, Alex. "Social Structure and the Socialization of Competence." In Harvard Educational Review Editors, *Socialization and Schools*, pp. 58-68. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Jencks, Christopher. *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effects of Family and Schooling in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1972.

Jensen, Arthur R. "How Much Can We Boost I.Q. and Scholastic Achievement?" *Harvard Educational Review*, Reprint Series No. 2 (1969), pp. 1-123.

Johnson, Charles S. *Backgrounds to Patterns of Negro Segregation*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1943.

Katzman, David M. *Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973.

Katz, Irwin. "The Socialization of Academic Motivation in Minority-Group Children." In D. Levine, ed., *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation*, pp. 133-191. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.

Kornhauser, William. "The Negro Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control." *American Journal of Sociology* 55 (1952).

Larsen, Marjorie S. *A Follow-Up Study of Failing Students at Edison Senior High School*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of the Pacific, Stockton, 1961.

Levitan, Sar A.; William B. Johnston; and Robert Taggart. *Still A Dream: The Changing Status of Blacks since 1960*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

LeVine, Robert A. "Cross-Cultural Study in Child Psychology." In P. Mussen, ed., *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*, 3rd ed., vol. 2, pp. 559-612. New York: John Wiley, 1970.

Litherland, Richard Hughes. *The Development of Two Cities: An Analysis of the 1970 Census, Stockton, California*. Unpublished manuscript, Stockton, 1973.

Loehlin, John C.; Gardner Lindzey; and J.N. Spuhler. *Race Differences in Intelligence*. San Francisco: W.N. Freeman and Company, 1975.

McDermott, R.P. "Achieving School Failure: Anthropological Approach to Illiteracy and Social Stratification." In George D. Spindler, ed., *Education and the Cultural Process: Toward An Anthropology of Education*, pp. 82-118. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974.

Martin, V. Covert. *Stockton Album Through the Years*. Stockton: *Stockton Record*, 1959.

Meer, Bernard, and Edward Freeman. "The Impact of Negro Neighbors on White Homeowners." *Social Forces* 45(1966): 11-19.

Miller, Herman P. *Rich Man, Poor Man*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971.

Mosteller, Frederick, and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds. *On Equality of Educational Opportunity*. New York: Random House, 1972.

Myrdal, Gunnar. *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

Norgren, Paul H., and Samuel E. Hill. *Toward Fair Employment*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964.

Ogbu, John U. *The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood*. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

_____. *Minority Education and Caste: The American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. New York: Academic Press, forthcoming.

Powdermaker, Hortense. *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South*. New York: Atheneum, 1968.

Purcell, Theodore V., and Gerald F. Cavanagh. *Blacks in the Industrial World: Issues for the Manager*. New York: The Free Press, 1972.

Rosenfeld, Eva. *A Strategy for Prevention of Developmental Retardation Among Disadvantaged Israeli Preschoolers*. Jerusalem: Henrietta Szoldd Institute, Research Report No. 175, 1973.

Ross, Arthur M. "The Negro in the Amerian Economy." In Arthur M. Ross and Herbert Hill, eds., *Employment, Race, and Poverty: A Critical Study of the Disadvantaged Status of Negro Workers from 1865 to 1965*, pp. 3-48. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.

Ross, Arthur R. *Negro Employment in the South, Vol. 3: State and Local Government*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973.

San Joaquin County. *Median Family Income, 1970: By Race and Census Tract*. Stockton: Department of County Planning, 1973.

Sandelius, Stanley E. *Employment of Certificated Personnel of Ethnic Minority Groups in Stockton Unified School District, 1947-1962*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of the Pacific, Stockton, 1963.

Schulz, David A. *Coming Up Black: Patterns of Ghetto Socialization*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969.

Sears, Jesse B.; John C. Almack; Percy E. Davidson; *et al. Stockton School Survey*. Stockton: Board of Education, 1938.

Shimahara, Nobuo. *Burakumin: A Japanese Minority and Education*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971.

Simons, Herbert D. *Black Dialect, Reading Interference, and Classroom Interaction*. Department of Education, University of California, 1976.

South Stockton Parish. *A Statistical Study of South and East Stockton*. Unpublished manuscript, Stockton, 1967.

Stegall, William; Leo Fong; Richard Litherland; Aron Sato; and Karl Irvin, Jr. *A Study Paper on Stockton Schools and Integration*. Mimeographed. Stockton: Staff Paper of South Stockton Parish, 1968.

Stein, Annie. "Strategies for Failure." *Harvard Educational Review* 41(1971):158-204.

Stockton City, Planning Department. *Housing Plan: Element of the General Plan*, 1970.

_____. *Neighborhood Analysis Program, Profile No. 2: Housing Dispersement Study*, 1973: 216.

_____. *Neighborhood Analysis Program, Profile No. 5: Education Study*, 1974: 43.

Stockton Unified School District (SUSD). *Community Survey: Occupational Data*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1948a.

_____. *Community Survey: In-School Youth*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1948b.

_____. *Dropout Rate, Stockton Unified School District*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1963.

_____. *Annual Report*. Unpublished manuscript, John Marshall Junior High School, 1969.

_____. *Report on Racial and Ethnic Composition of Schools and Personnel*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1967a.

_____. *Annual Report*. Unpublished manuscript, Washington Elementary School, 1967b.

_____. *Annual Report*. Unpublished manuscript, Edison Senior High School, 1968a.

_____. *Report on the State Testing Results*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1968b.

_____. *Stockton Program for Educational Enrichment of Disadvantaged Youth: Progress Report for the School Year Ending June 30, 1968*. Unpublished manuscript, Office of Compensatory Education, 1968c.

_____. *Assisting Parents to Promote School Success: A Proposal*. Unpublished manuscript, Office of Compensatory Education, 1968d.

_____. *Annual Report*. Unpublished manuscript, John Marshall Junior High School, 1969a.

_____. *Report on the State Testing Results*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1969b.

_____. *Steps Toward Quality Education: A Recommendation for an Integration of the School System*. Unpublished manuscript, Office of the Superintendent, 1969c.

_____. *Report on the State Testing Results*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1970a.

_____. *Report on Racial and Ethnic Composition of Schools and Personnel*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1970b.

_____. *A Demonstration Bilingual-Bicultural Education Project: A Proposal*. Unpublished manuscript, Office of Bilingual-Bicultural Education, 1971a.

_____. *Evaluation of a Comprehensive Compensatory Education Program*. Unpublished manuscript, Office of Compensatory Education, 1971b.

_____. *Report on the State Testing Results*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1971c.

_____. *Report on the State Testing Results*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1972a.

_____. *Report on the Racial and Ethnic Composition of Schools*

and Personnel. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1972b.

_____. *Report on the State Testing Results*. Unpublished manuscript, Research Department, 1973.

Stockton Unified School District (SUSD), Minutes, Board of Education. "Mrs. Field Asked About Policy on Teachers That Demean Negro Children." Feb 27, pp. 4211-4212, 1968a.

_____. "Superintendent's Reactions and Recommendations to Black Unity Council." May 14, pp. 4251-4255, 1968b.

_____. "Response to Mexican-Americans United for Action." Dec. 17, pp. 4428-4430, 1968c.

_____. "Superintendent's Statement on Equal Facilities." Jan 28, p. 4456, 1969a.

_____. "Correspondence from United Mexican-American's Association." June 10, p. 4586, 1969b.

_____. "Report to Council for the Spanish-Speaking and Needs of Mexican-Americans." July 8, p. 4623, 1969c.

SUSD, see Stockton Unified School District.

United States Commission on Civil Disorders. *Report*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

United States Commission on Civil Rights. *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools: A Report, Vol. 1*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967.

United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts Final Report. PHC(1)-153*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962.

_____. *U.S. Census of Population and Housing: 1970. Census Tracts: Stockton, California, PHC (1)-208*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

United States, Department of Justice. *Model Cities Correctional Project*. Unpublished manuscript, Stockton, 1967.

United States Senate, Select Committee on Education. *Report: Toward Equal Educational Opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972.

Van den Berghe, Pierre. *Race and Racism: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: John Wiley, 1967.

Van Gennep, Arnold. *The Rites of Passage* (translated by Monika Vizedom and G.L. Caffee). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.

Weinberg, Meyer. *A Chance to Learn: A History of Race and Education in the United States*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

The development of this paper was supported by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education pursuant to a contract with the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express their judgment in professional matters. Prior to publication, the manuscript was submitted to the Center for Policy Research, Inc., New York, for critical review and determination of professional competence. This publication has met such standards. Points of view or opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the official view or opinions of either the Center for Policy Research, Inc., or the National Institute of Education.

IRCD **Bulletin**

SUBSCRIPTION NOTICE

The **IRCD Bulletin** is published quarterly on a calendar year basis. The cost of a subscription is $4.00 per year (four issues). In order to subscribe, please complete the form below and send it with your check or money order for $4.00 to:

Institute for Urban and Minority Education
Box 40
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

Subscriptions must be prepaid. Please make check or money order payable to Teachers College. Subscriptions are accepted for complete calendar year volumes only.

. . . . . .

Please enter my subscription to the **IRCD Bulletin.** Enclosed is $4.00. I understand that I will receive four issues.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____ Zip Code _____

Please check one of the following categories which best describes your affiliation:

- ☐ College or University
- ☐ Elementary or Secondary School/System
- ☐ Governmental Agency
- ☐ Library or Information Center
- ☐ Public or Private Agency
- ☐ Other (Please specify)

_____

Back Issues of IRCD Bulletin Available

The following issues of the IRCD Bulletin are available from:

Institute for Urban and Minority Education
Box 40
Teachers College, Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

1-9 copies: $1.00 each; 10-24 copies: $0.80 each; 25-49 copies: $0.60 each; 50 copies and over: $0.50 each.

Volume X, No. 1	Perspectives on Old Issues in Education for the Minority Poor, Edmund W. Gordon. Winter 1975.
Volume X, No. 2	Community, Competence, and Individuation: The Effects of Different Controls in Educational Environment, Joseph C. Grannis. Spring 1975.
Volume X, No. 3	Ten Years of Decentralization: A Review of the Involvement of Urban Communities in School Decision-Making, Dale Mann. Summer 1975.
Volume X, No. 4	A Psychological Anthropologist's View of Ethnicity and Schooling, Charles C. Harrington. Fall 1975.
Volume XI, No. 1	Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. The Current State of the Art and Recommendations for Change; A Review of the Studies of the Programs, Edmund W. Gordon. Winter 1976.
Volume XI, No. 2	Class Action, Community Organization, and School Reform: Aspira of New York, Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization, and Harlem Parents Union, Gertrude S. Goldberg. Spring 1976.
Volume XI, No. 3	Which School Resources Help Learning? Efficiency and Equity in Philadelphia Public Schools, Anita A. Summers and Barbara L. Wolfe. Summer 1976.
Volume XI, No. 4	Achievement Motivation and Black Children, W. Curtis Banks and Gregory V. McQuater. Fall 1976.
Volume XII, No. 1	Human Diversity, Program Evaluation and Pupil Assessment, Edmund W. Gordon; A Critical Review of *Black Consciousness, Identity and Achievement*, Joseph C. Grannis. Winter 1977.
Volume XII, No. 2	Bilingual Education — A Perspective, Joshua A. Fishman. Spring 1977.

IRCD BULLETIN
Edmund W. Gordon, Editor
Teachers College, Columbia University
Box 40
525 West 120th Street
New York, New York 10027

Volume XII, Number 3

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED